

**CLASSROOM INTERACTION IN
UNIVERSITY SETTINGS:
A CASE STUDY OF LANGUAGE
TEACHING AND LEARNING**

By Young Sic Kim B. Bus, Adm. M.Ed.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the social and cultural contexts of pedagogical practices in selected Australian university Korean language programs. The focus of the empirical work reported in this thesis is the description and interpretation of the social activities constructed by categories of students, defined by their cultural background, and native Korean-speaking lecturers in goal-oriented pedagogies. The empirical work centres on the interaction between perceptions of teachers' expectations on the part of students and on the cultural attributes of their teachers. In order to accomplish this outcome, the thesis draws on the concepts of social interactionism formulated by symbolic interactionism and the school classroom analyses of Hargreaves (1972) and Nash (1979). These concepts are embedded in the theoretical framework of 'visible' and 'invisible' pedagogies first formulated by Bernstein (1973, 1990).

The empirical work, undertaken in two fieldwork periods in two Australian universities during 1998 and 1999, made use of formal and informal interviewing and observation to generate a data-base. A questionnaire survey of students was conducted near the end of the second fieldwork period, and replicated in 2002, to corroborate the qualitative data-based interpretations.

The main finding is that the interaction of the cultural backgrounds of students and teachers constantly affect classroom interaction in the Korean language classroom. The cultural framing of classroom life has special significance for Korean-background students who perceive that they are expected to perform

constantly at a high level by their Korean teachers. Conversely, Australian students, while they evaluate their teachers positively, react to a perceived lack of high expectation on the part of their Korean teachers. Nevertheless, Australian students perceive that they receive positive expectations from their Korean teachers. In theoretical terms, the study provides evidence that the classroom interaction models proposed by Hargreaves and Bernstein in the schools sector have salience in higher education. Moreover, the fieldwork shows that while there is an identifiable classroom pressure to reach defined learning outcomes predicted by the 'visible' pedagogy model, there are culturally-based criteria used by teachers for judging the performance of students. This 'invisible' pedagogy affects the motivation of students in the observed classrooms so that the Korean background students and other Asian students perceive the classroom to be flexible yet demanding, while Australian students perceive it to be easy-going yet challenging. In short, the research demonstrates that Korean language teachers display logical expectations of productivity and standards through culturally desired expectations.

This thesis is the first study of social interaction in an Australian Asian language teaching setting. There is sufficient evidence in the thesis to suggest that there is a productive future research agenda in the analysis of the effects of expectations and consequential levels of motivation and language competency of Asian language learners in Australian universities.

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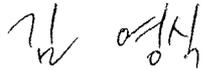
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DECLARATION

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the work presented in this thesis is completely original, except where acknowledged in the text. The material has not been submitted for a degree at this or any other University. I have personally sighted all works referred to in the text and references.



Youngsic Kim

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Research and Nature of the Study

This study examines the social construction of meaning co-created by students and lecturers in selected Australian tertiary classrooms. The study is also concerned with the effects cultural differences embedded in the pedagogies that Korean teachers bring into the Australian tertiary classroom. More specifically, the focus of this study is on the social and cultural context of pedagogies in the tertiary Korean language classroom. At this early point, it is important to establish the perspective in which this study is located.

The study is embedded in a symbolic interactionist perspective. In this perspective, social structural factors play an important part in social life as people do not react to the world directly, but rather to interpretations that create the meaning it has for them. In this way, people assign different meanings to symbols. The symbols that human beings use to construct of social life include: voiced sounds; body talk: the non-verbal culture of hands, face, legs, posture and muscle tone that convey information; body costume such as clothes, cosmetics, tattoos, scars, and other body decorations that signal such things as social status and intent; behavioral patterns that are read for their social meaning; and material items.

The symbolic interactionist perspective is derived from a pragmatist philosophy where 'meaning' means knowledge is based on what people *do* with things such as

symbols. Accordingly, human behaviour is interpreted by identifying how people act towards and learn what symbols mean. The self and social groups are thus developed through social interaction. This is an important insight for this thesis because self-concept is an artifact, an effect, of interaction with others. If people habitually treat someone in a particular way, their treatment may become a self-fulfilling prophecy. This leads to the now famous proposition of Thomas and Thomas (1928, 571-572) that 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences'. It follows then that this thesis is concerned with what different individuals and sub-cultural groups believe to be real reported in the study rather than with the question, 'What is real?'

This perspective assumes that diverse societies consist of a plurality of perspectives based in communication patterns. The study of human behaviour then is not the individual, but rather the situational relations amongst different persons and how they mutually present to one another. In this way, the three basic propositions that inform this thesis are that: human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them; the meaning of things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with the people and things that form the situational context; and these meanings dealt with and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person dealing with them.

There are two levels of analysis in the symbolic interactionist perspective. The primary is the macro-level of how one's self-concept, that is the source of all

behaviours, is created and affected by the interactions between an individual and a social institution. The micro-level emphasises what particular behaviours mean to individuals and how self-concept is formed through interaction with others. This is fundamental because all behaviour is viewed as an expression of self-concept. **As** this thesis exemplifies, the symbolic interactionist unit of analysis at the micro-level is the face-to-face encounter where two or more people are present. **As** the later analyses show, the stability of classroom groups depends on the maintenance of common definitions among the students and teachers and the level of motivation generated by the meanings individuals attribute to the classroom events, but they do not accomplish this alone. The situation of the language class is where the pedagogical meanings are co-created.

In this and related theoretical and research traditions, historical and current research on classrooms indicates that teacher perceptions and expectations of students influence not only students' perceptions about their ability to learn, but the self-concept thus created affects future academic outcomes as well. Social interactions along with the perceptions and expectations of each other by teachers and students affect teacher-student relationships and classroom interaction patterns. Social relations and interactions between teachers and students then are important elements in understanding what happens in the classroom *per se*.

There are, however, few studies concerned with social relations between teachers and students, and teacher expectations of students and students' perceptions in

tertiary classrooms, especially Korean language tertiary classrooms, in Australia. Teacher expectations and social relations have been investigated in the educational field in various primary and secondary subject areas such as social studies, mathematics, and so on for over three decades, yet there has been little interest researching social interactions in language classrooms at Australian universities.

As indicated earlier, this study approaches the language classroom from a sociological view. The central concern of this study is to achieve an understanding of how interaction patterns, including those based on cultural differences between Korean teachers and students, affect perceptions, expectations and social relations in these classrooms. My approach contrasts with those approaches that emphasise linguistic forms or the acquisition of linguistic mechanisms of the target language itself. That is, the study is not directly concerned with the specific details of linguistic theories of language teaching practices. These matters are of passing interest in the analysis of data and also in the concluding remarks of the study. I follow Allwright (1988) who argues that research in language classrooms go further than a focus on language teaching methods. He states:

...that method probably doesn't really matter very much but that what happens in the classroom still must matter. All the research so far described has involved the implicit assumption that what is really happening in the classroom is simply that some particular method or technique is being used, and that more or less efficient learning might be taking place accordingly. It is however clear that much more than this is happening. People are interacting in a multiplicity. We need studies of what actually happens, not of what recognisable teaching methods, strategies or techniques are employed by the teacher, but of what really happens between teacher and the class (Allwright, 1988: 51).

In addition, this study uses the theoretical propositions of Bernstein (1975, 1990) and Hargreaves (1972, 1975) to establish the explanatory scaffolding for the Korean language classroom situation in the Australian university sample. On the face of it, these theories appear to be 'school-based' and perhaps for some, dated. My rebuttal is that symbolic interactionism is not to be considered 'dated' and if Hargreaves' theory and findings are symbolic interactionist in derivation and application, then they retain validity for the study of any classroom interaction. The fact that the classroom research undertaken by Hargreaves and several others in that historical period was overtaken by changes in the orientation of the sociology of education field in response to structural and cultural Marxist approaches is no reason for rejecting the contemporary nature such work. In this thesis, I use the Hargreaves approach because it suits the task set by the research questions.

Again, Bernstein's sociology of education theory is a powerful set of general propositions that have relevance at both the macro- and micro-level of theorising and investigation. For example, Suozzo (1999) shows how Bernstein's theory can contribute to language teaching by understanding classroom discourse from an educational point of view. He (1999: 273) indicates that 'developing that understanding by reading international materials, such as those of a well known sociologist of education like Bernstein, can lead to new ideas in second language classroom research'. Thus Bernstein's code theory explains the concepts of classification (power) and framing (control). These elements structure the barriers

and thresholds between and within discourses of the classroom. Suozzo (1999: 273) reports that:

In turn, the principles of classification and framing regulate the possibilities for change, reproduction, or resistance on the part of either learners or teachers in both strong and weak forms. In the strong form of classification, boundaries of knowledge are clear. In the strong form of framing, the transmitter controls communication, including its selection, sequencing, pacing, criteria, and social base (Suozzo, 1999:273).

It would be strange indeed if such depictions of classroom social structure and their dynamics were declared irrelevant for tertiary classrooms. Furthermore, Suzzo makes use of Bernstein's development of the language device of Chomsky to formulate his 'pedagogic device' and his explanation of the three major rules that govern the pedagogic device. These are: distributive (who transmits what to whom under what conditions); recontextualising (appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates other discourse to create its own); and evaluation (selectively regulates contents, forms of transmission, and the distribution of contents to different groups of students in different contexts). Clearly, such concepts are sophisticated analytic tools for the understanding and investigation of pedagogical relationships in any classroom (or teaching/learning) setting. As Suzzo points out, Bernstein's research also includes a penetrating discussion of competency for second language acquisition (SLA) including broadened linguistics and sociolinguistics. I am not then concerned that Bernstein's work has had most currency amongst school sector commentators and sociologists. I detail Bernstein's theory as it is relevant to this thesis in Chapter III.

Before moving on to the discussion of the main concepts adopted in this thesis, I now turn to the background elements of interpersonal relationships, communication in the classroom and cultural diversity in classrooms. Interpersonal relationships and communication not only provide general concepts to understand the relationship between teacher and students, but also are directly concerned with the themes of this study. I now turn to a discussion of the importance of interpersonal relations.

Basic Humans Social Relation Patterns

According to Hamachek (1982), there are two major reasons why interpersonal relationships are important in life: self-understanding and self-acceptance. Every human being has opportunities for seeing reflections of his or hers own behaviour mirrored by the behaviour of others and feedback to compare themselves with others. Interpersonal relations are an important escape from the emotional and physical ravages of social isolation. Thus, through interpersonal relationships, people are able to have self-understanding, self-acceptance and social comparison.

As relationships between persons progress, variable factors such as like/dislike, intensity, trust, predictability, and interdependence affect the development (Forgas, 1985). The most significant universal characteristic of human relationships is, however, the degree of involvement between persons. Levinger and Snoek (1972) develop a model of relationship development, based on involvement between

persons. Their model consists of three levels: the stage of unilateral awareness; the stage of surface contact; and the stage of mutuality,

At the first level, relationships are brief, superficial and there is little contact between persons. Despite the fact that Level One relationships are minimal, they form the basis from which all more involved relationships develop. These are obvious parallels here with the establishment of teaching classes in universities. In Level Two relationships, people interact with minimal personal involvement mainly in terms of strictly prescribed roles. People's appearance, physical attractiveness, dress, verbal and nonverbal signals (eye contact, smiling, gestures) have an important influence on surface contact relationships. In Level Three, a person sees the other as an individual and understands his or her different perspective of the world. Relationships develop rapidly in this level due to factors such as social and demographic similarity, attitudes and values similarity, self-disclosure, complementary personal needs and mutually valued personal characteristics (Forgas, 1985). Social and demographic similarity in particular is especially important in this thesis, because the thesis investigation deals with sub-cultural groups of Australian and Asian students.

People tend to socialise with others like themselves. Socially and demographically similar people are more likely to establish relationships compared to people who come from different social and demographic backgrounds. This propinquity principle, based on similar cultural background, the behaviour of people similarity

of attitudes and values, is directly patterned by culture. In the tertiary setting and classrooms, one would expect to find such factors together with the overlay of propinquity factors arising from the togetherness of the classroom itself as Levinger and Snoek's levels of relationship develop.

The teacher-student relationship is unique, yet shares the basic dynamics of other interpersonal relationships. Teaching is a relational development process based on effective interpersonal communication skills to achieve satisfying outcomes (Graham, West and Schaller, 1992). Like any other relational process, teachers and students also work through a developmental stage process such as meeting one another, exchanging information, and developing expectations of each other. While establishing and developing interpersonal relations, a teacher and a student set up individual goals, and their goals of achievement are based on the teacher's and the student's ability to negotiate with one another and resolve disagreement (Frymier and Houser, 2000). At this stage, communication between teacher and student takes an important role, as it is used intensively to understand each other and each party's further intentions in a pedagogical context.

The nature of student-teacher relationships is crucial to students' effective learning processes, academic outcomes and personal development. When a teacher and a student have a long-term relationship, such as that over a multi-year course, the teacher has a better chance of exerting a positive influence on the student (Liu, 1997).

Long term teacher-student relationships improve not only students' performance but also job satisfaction for teachers (Burke, 1996). In this sense, it is assumed that Korean language teachers have the opportunity to develop a positive relationship with students as Korean language education programs are operated by a small number of teachers, typically two or three teachers at a university, over three years.

Frymier and Houser (2000) suggest a number of factors that affect the teacher-student interpersonal relationship and student learning. They are: communication style, affinity seeking, self-disclosure, solidarity, humour, caring and compliance-gaining. In addition, students' behaviour toward the content and the teacher, and positive relationships between teacher and student facilitate effective learning, and in turn, cognitive learning.

As Kumpulainen and Wary (2002: 1) argue that 'the nature of interactions, and the likely outcomes of particular patterns of interactions in terms of learning, have emerged as important issues', the relationship between teachers and students are the main influential factor in the learning that occurs in the classroom. Burlson and Samter (1990) indicate that to understand the development of relationships between teacher and student, teacher communication styles and skills are used as an approach to develop and maintain friendships. The nature of communication in the classroom is discussed in the following section.

Communication Between Teacher and Students

In keeping with the symbolic interactionist perspective, communication can be described as a social function between people and has an important role in interpersonal relationship building. Communication is the method of exchanging messages yet it provides the substantive materials for interpersonal bonds. For example, communicative acts between people are based on their relationships and relational markers such as conflict, flirtation, play, apologies, persuasion, and entertainment (Duck, 1988). It is a process that occurs either intentionally or unintentionally, and it happens between two people or in larger groups in face-to-face interactions (Hamachek, 1982). Classrooms at all educational levels are complex communicative networks.

Communication is based on understanding others. Thus, communication contributes an important role between people to understand each other. This insight is important for this thesis as teacher expectations of students, which is the one of main themes in this study, appear as a communication form to students (Good and Thomas, 1978, 1984, 1997, 2000, 2002). The ability to communicate enables people to translate what they are thinking and feeling by a verbal or nonverbal language that connects each other. In a verbal exchange between two people, communication is involved with two aspects. One is the cognitive information of the message in terms of *what* is said, and the other is the feelings and emotional component of the message, affective information, in terms of *how* it is said (Hamachek, 1982). In school settings, teacher input, what he or she says

and how it is said affects instructional communication. The *what* refers to the verbal utterances and the *how* is related to the nonverbal element of messages. Hamachek (1982) adds that the style of communication relates to the teacher's ability to control classroom interactions and students.

Miscommunication and Pedagogy

Communication is not only the giving of information but also receiving and understanding the message between people. Communication can 'break down' or may encounter barriers at any point in the process from sender to receiver. There are many things that can interfere with what people want to say to others, and with the transmission of feelings (Dimbleby and Burton, 1998). There are generic situations that create communication problems and all occur in classrooms. They include: provoking hostility in another so that messages are distorted; mechanical barriers; concentrating on the receiver (or sender) rather than the message; inarticulateness or lack of verbal skills in intercultural communications; formulation and interpretation of the message; psychological barriers in people's emotional processes; use of stereotypes others rather than dealing with individuals (Dimbleby and Burton, 1998; Strano, Mohan and McGregor, 1989: 10). Because of the interdependence of language, meaning and culture that these examples suggest, language barriers are one of the most important blockages in communication.

Language barriers also occur in classroom situations between teacher and students because communication is directly related to teaching and learning processes in

classrooms. Teachers carry considerable responsibility to understand and use communication skills in ways that encourage learning. This is especially the case in language teaching and learning.

Teachers' personalities, attitudes, beliefs and values are reflected to an extent in what and how they communicate with students in classrooms (Hansford, 1988). This is a crucial point for this study because when the teacher has a different cultural background from students, such as with native Korean teachers and Australian students, he or she (the teacher) brings different communication patterns into the classroom. Communication styles, and the meanings and values based on different cultures can lead to misunderstandings between teacher and students. The potential for misunderstanding and misperception of actions and perceived motives lies in the inseparability of language and meaning. In Korean language classrooms reported later, the opportunity for complexity in communications is exacerbated by diversity of backgrounds.

Teacher communication behaviours are strongly related not only to teaching effectiveness but also to their job satisfaction. Graham, West, and Schaller (1992) report that teachers who perceived themselves as interpersonally competent with their students, (being accessible, personable, and willing to communicate), were likely to be satisfied with their job. Moreover, teacher communication behaviours are one of the elements that influence interpersonal relationships with students as well as the teaching and learning processes.

The processes of communication in the classroom are associated with teaching and learning, and research in this area is concerned with teacher talk, discourse analysis, classroom interaction, or teacher-students behaviour (Hansford, 1988). According to Hansford (1988: 3), classroom communication is ‘a process in which an individual teacher or student either intentionally or accidentally stimulates meaning in the mind of another classroom member by means of verbal and nonverbal symbols and cues’. This insight leads to a further set of communicative relationships that affect learning of students.

Ilatov, Shamai, Lazarovitz and Young (1998) investigated the relationships between teacher communication style in teacher-student classroom interaction and student gender, in a study with seven teachers in high schools in Israel. They report that the use of more or less dominant or controlling styles of classroom communication affect their style of communication. They point out that gender, academic composition, and styles of communication of teachers are important factors in teacher-student interactions in classrooms. This data reported in this thesis confirms this finding.

Teachers’ instructional communication behaviour influences the behaviour of the student, in particular, motivation to learn, subsequently affecting learning outcomes (Gorham and Millette, 1997). Frymier and Houser (2000) indicate that USA university students considered communication elements such as referential skills

and ego support, to be important components of good teaching and that they are crucial predictors of learning and motivation. 'Referential skills' refer to clarity of the explanation and understanding of the teachers' instructional goals and objectives, while 'ego support' refers to encouragement and confirmation. The general point of relevance for this is that these tertiary students expected both the transmission of information support to achieve self-confidence and control over the learning environment and this is partly a function of interpersonal relationships between teachers and students.

Just as teacher communication styles affect students, styles of student communication influence teachers. Brooks and Woolfolk (1987) indicate that students' use of nonverbal cues such as space, attentiveness behaviours, and use of time affect teachers' perceptions of students. Such nonverbal expressions symbolised and were interpreted as sources of information for the formation of teachers' impressions, attitudes, beliefs and reciprocal behavioural expressions.

Other factors such as seat position in classroom affect teachers' perceptions of students. Students who sit near the teacher are perceived more positively by teachers than students who distance themselves. In addition, teachers' perceptions of students are affected by value-loaded behaviours such as smiling, hand raising, sitting straight, and excitement/boredom behaviours. Jenkins and Deno (1969: 440) consider that student behaviours are 'an important source of feedback, which selectively reinforces certain teaching activities and extinguishes others' while

teacher behaviour is 'a function of student behaviour'. Thus, teachers can and do self-evaluate teaching effectiveness by student classroom behaviour. This is the symbolic interactionist notion of the 'looking glass self'.

Society is an interweaving and interworking of mental selves. I imagine your mind, and especially what your mind thinks about my mind, and what your mind thinks about what my mind thinks about your mind. I dress my mind before yours and expect that you will dress yours before mine. Whoever cannot or will not perform these feats is not properly in the game (Cooley, 1902, p.179-185).

Thus, in Jenkins and Deno's studies, teachers who receive positive nonverbal feedback from their students find teaching more enjoyable and believe they are more effective teachers and that their students learned more effectively than did teachers in the negative feedback condition.

In summary, pedagogical processes involve and are dependent on several factors: student-teacher interaction, inter-group interaction, classroom dynamics, interpersonal relations, individual and group developments, cross-cultural communication, and cultural differences between teacher and student. The teacher and student roles are irrevocably implicated in the social construction of classroom meaning and social patterns as well the transmission of content.

Cultural Diversity in Current Classrooms

A number of studies have been conducted in culturally diverse classrooms (Aecher, 1986; Brownell and Thomas, 1997; Cabello and Burstein, 1995; Lapadat, 2000; Martin, 1986; Rodriguez and Sjosrom, 1995; Solomon, 1995; Waldrip and Fisher

2000). These studies investigated teachers' understanding of cultural diversity in the classroom and how teachers' cultural beliefs and different personal backgrounds affect the multi-cultural classroom. In these studies, however, it is the students who bring 'foreign' cultures into the classroom, not the teachers. In this study, the roles are reversed. Although there are Asian students in the classrooms I investigated, my main interest was in the effects of having Korean teachers as the power figures rather than issues around learning for culturally different students.

There are two patterns of argument about teaching culturally diverse classrooms. One is that good teaching practice is effective for all regardless of the difference in culture and language. The other emphasises the characteristics of particular ethnic, racial, and linguistic groups who require particular approaches that reflect their cultural background. Special attention is paid to instructional strategies and curriculum content consistent with students' experiences, cultural perspectives and developmental needs (Cabello and Burstein, 1995). Teacher education about cultural diversity, however, tends to focus on teachers' beliefs about teaching culturally, racially and linguistically diverse students in a multicultural setting. This is because teaching practices reflect teachers' beliefs based on their own experiences, education, personal and cultural backgrounds. Cabello and Burstein (1995) argue that because the cultural and experiential gap between teachers and students interrupts responsive instruction, teachers tend to fit students into their own cultural system. Spradley and McCurdy (1984) describe this phenomenon in the following way:

We tend to think that the norms we follow represent the 'natural' way human beings do things. Those who behave otherwise are judged morally wrong. This viewpoint is ethnocentric, which means that people think their own culture represents the best, or at least the most appropriate way for human beings to live (Spradley and McCurdy, 1984:2-3).

All teachers have preconceptions about teaching and learning based on their own background and experiences. This is an important crucial point for teachers in culturally diverse classrooms and for this study because 'many values, beliefs and attitudes are taken over from our culture' (Hargreaves, 1972: 21) so that cultural behaviour is patterned in particular forms (Mandelbaum, 1994). A teachers' repertoire of interactional preferences, communication styles, socialised mores, and habits and assumptions established in formal education are bound to influence how the classroom and external environment is perceived and interpreted (Collier, 1988). It is not difficult to hypothesise that the teacher and the students in a culturally diverse classroom have a great deal of interpretive work to do in order to implement the 'looking glass self' in ways that are productive. Having said that, it is important for the thesis aims that this is postulated as a potential rather than an *a priori* state of affairs. A judgment about how this proposition is resolved is made later in the thesis.

In keeping with these remarks, Brownell and Thomas (1997) emphasise that teachers need to understand their own cultural agency, what and how they bring their own cultural presuppositions to the classroom and how their students might perceive them. Brownell and Thomas (1997) urge teachers to understand their own culture in order to understand themselves better before attempting to understand

their culturally different students who have different assumptions and beliefs based on a different culture. They state, optimistically, that ‘when student and teachers are aware of the role that their own culture plays in their expectations, both sides will experience less conflict in their interactions’ (Brownell and Thomas, 1997: 120).

Brownell and Thomas (1997) provide some advice for teachers including showing interest in and trying to understand students’ cultures in the interest of gaining student respect and so that such students ‘are more apt to learn mainstream behaviours from teachers that are important in the typical school culture’ (Brownell and Thomas, 1997: 122). When teachers are willing to learn and accept students’ different cultures, Brownell and Thomas (1997) claim, they will not only understand students and teach more effectively, but will also develop a close relationship with them. This is why teachers’ respect for cultural difference is considered as an essential attitude for good teaching in a multicultural society (Rodriguez and Sjostrom, 1995). In addition, they maintain that multicultural societies need to respect cultural differences, have knowledge of the cultural reasons students hold, and the skills to connect these resources to the teaching learning process.

Collier (1988) concludes that ‘good teaching’ is responsive instruction in which educators provide instructional strategies and curriculum consistent with students’ experiences, cultural perspectives and developmental needs. There are quite

obvious similarities in such advice with the assumption of symbolic interactionism discussed earlier. Both are inter- and intra-personal processes embedded in situations that provide meaning for the interactional patterns that arise there. It follows then that the ways in which teachers understand their own cultural beliefs that affect their teaching styles and the perceptions of students, are likely to have an influence on their expectations of students. As Brownell and Thomas (1997) report, these are the kinds of factors that affect high academic achievement. In this respect, social relationships are the building blocks of cultural understanding.

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to understand interaction patterns and their effects on the perceptions, expectations and social relations of native Korean language teachers and students in Australia. In keeping with the discussion to this point, I sought the meanings that participants place on classroom events and behaviours and how these, in turn, relate to language learning. Given this aspiration, I was (and remain) uninterested in speech use, linguistic forms, pedagogical elegance or the linguistic mechanisms of the Korean language itself unless such material elucidates interactional patterns. Accordingly, the study focuses on the perceptions and expectations of both teachers and students and attempts to account for those cultural assumptions that affect, influence and shape student-teacher relationships.

Statement of the Problem

The overriding concern of this thesis is the pattern of relationships in Australian Korean language classrooms containing English speakers as well as Korean background students and international students from the Asian region. The interaction patterns are of interest in the symbolic interactionist perspective because they are generated by, and account, for the experiences reported by both students and teachers in these classrooms. To these ends, the research question investigated in the empirical study reported later in the thesis is as follows.

What are the characteristic **social interaction patterns** of the Korean language classrooms in my sample?

The auxiliary questions are:

- i. What are the **perceptions and expectations** of Korean language teachers towards Australian, Korean background and students of other nationalities?
- ii. What are the **perceptions and expectations** of Australian, Korean background, and students of other nationalities toward Korean teachers?

Limitations of the Study

The main limitation of this study is that it provides information about two tertiary Korean foreign language programs in two states in Australia. This is a small sample by any standard but the size of the Australian Korean language teaching and learning community is itself relatively small compared to other Asian languages such as Japanese, Chinese or Indonesian. In addition, I was unable to gain access to

two other Korean programs that were feasible for me to study given the resources I had at my disposal.

Definition of Terms

There is a set of concepts and relations that affect the content of teaching, teacher and student mindsets and ultimately outcomes. It is appropriate therefore to establish a number of such concepts as the basis for the theoretical discussion in Chapter III.

Perceptions: This is a way of seeing, understanding and assembling objects, meanings, and others and acting toward them in an organised, coherent way. Perception can be described as intuitive recognition of a truth. Students and teachers in a classroom usually act on the basis of a familiar definition of a situation.

Interaction: Interaction is a process that occurs within a linguistic world of symbols. Individuals are focused on body movements and vocalisations as significant symbols so that there is a readiness to act in a particular fashion, an image of conduct appropriate to the situation, and a plan of action. Individuals can become objects to themselves. Interaction then is the way participants perceive and are affected by each other. Factors such as age, gender, ethnicity race, and social position affect interaction (Hargreaves, 1972, 1975). The capacity to employ such

symbols in imagining the responses of others to our own acts also provides people with the capacity to be conscious themselves.

Self Concept: It can be described as ‘a personal perception of him/herself, formed through interaction with the environment, interactions with significant others and attributions of behaviours (Shavelson, Hubner and Stanton, 1976: 412). Self-concept can be either positive or negative and is an effect of the perceptions, ideas, and images we have of ourselves and is based on our beliefs, values and attitude (Wilson, Hantz, and Hanna, 1989).

Academic Self Concept: This is a self-concept of each student has about himself or herself Academic self-concept is established by students, on based of their academic ability that they believe they have. Nash (1973, 1975) points out that students are able to make assessments of their own class positions that correlate highly with those of their teachers. Each student understands his or her position as well as others in class and ‘taken as a whole the estimates of the class closely match ability ranking made by the teacher’ (Nash, 1973: 121). Students’ academic self-concept is strongly influenced by the teacher’s perceptions and expectations of them communicated indirectly, and consequently, it has an impact on the educational process in areas such as their motivation to learn and future achievements (Good and Brophy, 1997,2000,2002). In addition, self-concepts take an important role to teachers as well. Teachers with high self-concept are more likely to be motivated and more creative with their lessons while teachers with low

self-concept tend to be negative and complain about lack of teaching resources (Relich, 1996).

Teacher Expectations: Teacher expectations are what teachers assume to be the present and future academic achievements and general classroom behaviour of students. Expectations include ‘teachers beliefs about the changeability versus the rigidity of students’ ability; the students’ potential for benefiting from instruction; and the difficulty level of material for students in general or for a particular group’ (Good and Brophy, 1980: 261). Like teachers’ perceptions of students, teacher expectations for individual students are based on a student’s record, other information from initial and on-going contact with students in the classroom, assumed motivation, classroom behaviour, and general work habits. Teacher expectations affect students’ school performance in the development of students’ self-image.

- *High expectation:* Students describe high expectation from teachers as the heavy workload, the high quality of study, and the upper levels of performance teachers expect students to achieve.
- *Low expectation:* Students describe teachers who do not expect students to reach a high level of achievement such as a high level of language competence. In addition, students perceive that teachers who do not set a lot of work or high level materials for class and homework as having low expectations.

- *Positive expectation:* encouragement and support for students from teachers.
- *Negative expectations:* a teacher's lack of belief in a student's ability to perform.

In addition, the difference between 'high' and 'positive' expectations is that with 'high' expectations, students are expected to be competent with the subject matter while with 'positive' expectations, students are expected to achieve their own personal goals in the subject.

Self-fulfilling Prophecy in the classroom: Teacher expectations influence teachers' behaviour and subsequently, students' behaviour. This situation is called 'self-fulfilling prophecy' (Good and Brophy, 1980, 1984, 1987, 1997, 2000, 2002). A self-fulfilling prophecy refers to teachers' differential expectations for students' performance and differential behaviour. To investigate self-fulfilling prophecy, three factors are presented: the teacher's original expectations of students, the presence of behaviours that consistently communicate that expectation, and evidence that the original expectation has been confirmed (Good and Brophy, 1980).

Culture: This is significant in this study and is defined as 'the deposit of knowledge, experiences, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, timing, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, as well as material objects

and possessions acquired and group striving' (Porter and Samovar, 1988: 19). In school settings, culture is directly related to teaching and learning because people tend to use their cultural background to 'filter' (Schnell, 1988: 8) what they perceive in the classroom.

Cultural Differences: Two or more different cultures can be compared by patterns of behaviour. This is because 'all cultural behaviour is patterned' (Mandelbaurn, 1949: 546). Two culture systems are compared by analysis of the *forms* of patterns of culture, and *meaning* of patterned forms in each culture (Lado, 1986:54). In this study, Korean and Australian cultural characteristics are compared. More specifically, the thesis focuses on pedagogies and teaching habits based on Korean and Australian cultural rules.

Overview of the Dissertation

This chapter established the rationale for the study and introduces the research question and goals.

Chapter II contains a discussion of student motivation, teacher expectations in both Western and Korean societies, teacher-student interactions, and cultural differences between teachers and students in classrooms that affect education in the school system.

Chapter III contains a discussion of the theoretical framework of this study. Bernstein's (1993) theory of visible and invisible pedagogies, and Hargreaves's (1972, 1975) theory of social relations in a pedagogical context are used to examine the relationships between Korean teachers and Korean language students in university classrooms in Australia.

Chapter IV is a discussion of the methods used in this study. It describes two research settings in which this study was conducted, including the background of the research setting, the curricula, the teachers, the students, and key informants.

Chapter V presents the data and discussion of this study, based on social interaction patterns found in the fieldwork settings as well as the survey data.

Chapter VI is a summary of accomplishments related to the research question.

I now turn to the literature review.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

It will be recalled that the research question of this thesis is: ‘What are the characteristic social interaction patterns of the Korean language classrooms in my sample?’ This question, given the interactionist perspective I have adopted, connotes the following concepts: perceptions and expectations of Korean language teachers and of Australian, Korean background, and students of other nationalities. This chapter reviews relevant literature that explicates these broad categories for the purpose of establishing frameworks for examining interactional patterns between teachers and students, and the development of teacher-student relationships in the pedagogical context.

In the previous chapter, an argument was presented that social relations and interactions between teachers and students are fundamental elements in understanding what happens in the classroom, including tertiary language classrooms. Contemporary developments in the study of learning and interaction studies suggests that there is no causal link but that interaction patterns provide a *context* for learning. As Kumpulainen and Wray (2002: 29) suggest, ‘learning and interaction processes that evolve in instructional settings should be seen as constructed by the participants, shaped by their intentions and interpretations.’ The relationship between learning and interaction is extremely complex and its understanding requires description, interpretation and prediction of the social and learning activities constructed by the participants in

pedagogical activity (Kumpulainen and Mutanen, 1999). It is important for this thesis then that there is explication of what is known about the interaction-learning nexus, which is more fully developed by concepts from Bernstein and Hargreaves' work discussed in Chapter III. In this chapter, I draw on research literature drawn from both the individual psychological literature on learning and the sociocultural literature. In this way, thinking and learning processes are combined with social construction, a growing trend in the interaction field.

The current research indicates that expectations of teachers toward students influence students' achievement in both the learning process and the product. Winfield (1986) indicates that many researchers have consistently documented that teacher expectations influence student academic achievements. Teachers' different expectations towards students are displayed via specific classroom behaviours and practices.

Traditionally, 'language departments in research universities have seen as their mission the training of graduate students in literary analysis and have given less attention to the teaching and training of teacher of the undergraduate language courses' (Alalou and Chamberlain, 1999:28). In recent years, however, there has been a growing interest in research on second language teachers, in the mental images, thoughts, and processes teachers employ for their teaching (Richards, 1996). Richards (1996) argues that language teachers' maxims appear to reflect cultural factors, beliefs, systems, experiences, and training, and the understanding of which maxims teachers give priority to and how they influence teachers' practices is an important goal in teacher development.

He reviewed several educational resources of teaching in his study in order to emphasise the importance of the relation between teachers' personal beliefs and their teaching. He found that teachers, regardless of subjects matter or level, have personal views of themselves, their students, their teaching goals, and their role as a teacher in the classroom. Presumably, they try to reflect these in their teaching in everyday classroom situations as some researchers have argued in the concept of the 'ideal teacher'. Richards, (1996: 984) indicates two kinds of knowledge that influence teachers' understanding and practice of teaching:

...how the content of a lesson can be presented in an effective and coherent way. This is the aspect of teaching that has to do with curricular goals, lessons plans, instructional activities, materials, tasks, and teaching techniques. The other kind of knowledge relates to the teacher's personal and subjective philosophy of teaching and the teacher's view of what constitutes good teaching (1996: 984).

Richards (1996) particularly focuses on teachers' beliefs, or 'maxims' about the nature and role of teaching principles in language learning. In general, his study reflects the view that the individual background of teachers is an important element influencing teaching processes in classrooms and, one might speculate, students' academic achievements. However, he does not discuss either the importance of how students perceive teachers' teaching practices and attitudes, or teacher expectations of students or educational outcomes. However, it has long been held that student perceptions of classroom processes and teachers are valuable sources of information for effective teaching (Good and Brophy, 1986). Jones and Greig (1994) suggest that classroom interactions enable students to obtain information, understand learning procedures, share knowledge and seek feedback from their teachers. In turn, teachers use

interactions to measure the effectiveness of their instruction. I follow this line and postulate that understanding the perceptions of teachers and students is important for analysing teacher-student relationships. It is worth noting at this point that there is no research dealing with teacher/student social interaction patterns based on social relationships in tertiary level Korean language classrooms has been conducted in Australia. There is then no literature about social relations or social interaction patterns between teacher and students in Australian tertiary Korean foreign language classrooms.

Gergen (2001) underscores the importance of teacher-student relationships and how they contribute students' academic achievements in the classroom. He compares the changing perspectives of the past and present roles of the teacher and student. In the past, the roles were clearly divided according to the individualist tradition. For example, the teacher delivered the information and the student mastered it. If a student failed then, it was typically attributed to the student's deficient capabilities, attitudes, or motivation. However, in recent decades, it has been understood that effective student performance is a 'collaborative achievement' between the teacher and the student (Gergen, 2001: 6). Rawlins (2000) also emphasises that the most effective education emerges from a relationship between teacher and student. Accordingly, this chapter mainly focuses on issues that relate to the teacher-student relationship such as interactions, perceptions, expectations and cultural diversity in the classroom rather than language teaching methods and approaches or psychological theories of language learning. Nevertheless, because the thesis focuses on native Korean language speakers, Appendix F contains an indicative account of Korean

foreign language teaching methods and approaches as background information. I turn now to literature dealing with 'motivation' to learn. This literature, interpreted from an interactionist perspective, indicates how the perceptions of both students and teachers interact to create expectations of one another.

The literature review begins with Motivation of students. The second part deals with teacher expectations as a precursor to literature that deals with interaction between teachers and students in classrooms. Korean teachers' expectations in Korea are also discussed. The third section discusses cultural diversity in classroom along with pedagogies and cultural differences and its association with interactional patterns and its educational effects. And the final section deals with Korean school and culture

Motivation of Students

Student motivation has always been an important theme both in the language and general education fields. However, compared to language research, student motivation in the education field is highly related to teacher expectations and their behaviours toward students. Thus, student motivation is in reciprocal relation with those of teachers. In contrast, in second and foreign language research, teachers are not considered to be influential on students' motivation for learning. According to Gardner and Lambert's (1972) study in Canada, learners with different types of motivation display different patterns of interaction in the language classroom and different study habits generally. Gardner and Lambert related their finding to two basic kinds of motivation, which they call *integrative* (intrinsic) and *instrumental*. In *integrative*

motivation, the language learner appreciates the other culture and wishes to become a part of it and to communicate with its members. Such intrinsic motivation operates where learners engage in activities for their own sake rather than for an extrinsic reward (Deci, 1975; Brown, 1994). In contrast, *instrumental* motivation is more about how something like a second language can be a useful instrument towards furthering other goals, such as gaining a necessary qualification or improving employment prospects. Brown (1994), Cook (1991), Fearch and Kasper (1989), Gardner and Lambert (1972), Keeling (1995), and Tarone and Yule (1989) report that integrative/intrinsic motivation is associated with higher competence in a second language and achieving greater proficiency than instrumental motivation.

Buzo, Dalton, Kimberley and Wood (1995) report that the majority of Australian students approach the learning of Korean, Chinese, Japanese and Thai languages from the background of an overwhelmingly monolingual society and with little intrinsic desire to master a foreign language. Instead, student motivations are usually focused on instrumental, vocational perceptions. The National Korean Studies Centre 1993 survey of 42 Korean language students at Swinburne University of Technology, the Australian National University and the University of Melbourne indicated that most of the Korean language learners had instrumental motivation. Employment prospects were cited as the most important motivational factor, along with awareness of economic growth, and Australian government policy rather than integrative motivation, the opportunity to learn about a different culture and language (Buzo, 1995).

While instrumentalism may develop into a deeper intrinsic motivation, it may well be characterised by a student constantly seeking ‘relevance’, by personal aspirations being sought elsewhere, and anxiety that may interrupt learning. Motivational characteristics such as these are hardly auspicious when Australian students have persistent reinforcement that Asian languages are difficult to master and there are relatively few success stories to emulate (Buzo, Dalton, Kimberley and Wood, 1995: 14). Korean language belongs to the ‘difficult’ category as its script is non-Roman and is often cited as a source of potential difficulty by would-be students.

These motivational patterns are not restricted to the learning of an Asian languages. Dornyei (1990) examined the findings of a motivational questionnaire given to 134 learners of English in Hungary. Like Kasper (1983), he points out that instrumental motivation is commonly found in foreign language classrooms. Furthermore, his study indicates that such motivation is only sufficient for the acquisition of an intermediate level of second language proficiency. MacFarlane and Wesche (1995) reviewed Dornyei’s study in their study and report that the learner must be integratively motivated with the target culture for successful language learning,

Language learning literature emphasises the importance of motivation and positive attitudes toward the target language and culture for successful language learning. In other words, students bring their own motivations for learning that are independent of their teachers’ behaviours toward students. **An** important

issue here is whether or not ‘motivation’ can be increased by intervening in the environment of students.

In this study, I propose that the motivational dynamics that affect students in critical ways lie in the interactional patterns generated by teachers and students. These shape expectations on both sides and in turn, the wish to do well, to continue, to ‘scrape’ a pass or even discontinue. I argue that the deep roots of these motivational factors lie in the cultural backgrounds of students and teachers and the ways they are realised in classrooms. Accordingly, while I acknowledge the literature about motivation from both an educational and from language research, I concentrate more on the main themes of this thesis, namely, how teacher expectations of students affect students’ motivation to learn along with cultural differences, and interaction patterns. To explicate this position more fully, I now review a broader range of motivation literature that emphasises interactional elements,

The motivation to learn is connected to attitudes in definitions that focus on the choices people make about the experiences or goals they will approach or avoid, and the degree of effort they will exert in that respect (Brown, 1994). Thus Gardner and Lambert (1972) define ‘motivation’ as a construct made up of certain attitudes where ‘attitude’ refers to an opinion or way of thinking and behaviour reflecting this. This is important as the interactionist perspective stresses that people influence each other’s attitudes, and interaction is the site of such influence in human experience (Brown, 1994).

Many researchers (Brown, 1994; Clark, 1987; Dornyei, 1990; Fearch and Kasper, 1989; Gardner and Lambert, 1972; John 1990; Keeling, 1995; MacFalane and Wesche, 1995; Olshtain, Shohamy, Kemp and Chaton, 1990; Tarone and Yule, 1989) suggest that motivation and the attitude of learners are the most important factors influencing success or failure in learning a second or foreign language. They found that they are the essential ingredients for successful achievement and the best promotional prospects in any classroom.

Olshtain, Shohamy, Kemp and Chaton (1990) state that attitude and motivation toward the target language and culture are one of the categories of variables that affect language acquisition along with educational instruction, and learners' personal characteristics. Similarly, Gardner, Symythe, Clement and Glicksman (1976) argue that motivation is even more important than the ability to speak in explaining the extent to which students take advantage of opportunities to use the target language.

Student desire to achieve a high level performance in learning is another learning-directed attitude-based motive that is well discussed in the literature. This kind of motivation is often attached to first and second generation migrant families and to international students studying at universities. In this context, Tisher (1981, 1996) argues that cultural and family backgrounds factors affect students' orientations to achieve such as the amount of self-reliance required at home, aspirations of parents, and training to be independent. Achieving early success, or failure, affects student classroom motivation and is exacerbated by attitudes towards achievement and expectations of success or failure. The

relationships between motivation to achieve and expectations of success are shown in Table 1. These relationships are revisited in the later section dealing with teacher/student interactions patterns.

Table 1. Effects of expectations of success or failure on motivation to achieve
(Tisher, 1996: 7).

Expectation of success (students)		High	Low
	High (Prior success)	Motivation Decreased	Motivation increased
	Low (Prior failure)	Motivation enhanced	Motivation decreased

However, there is another position on the attitudinal matter that is significant for this thesis because it is more optimistic and less mechanical. Finocchiaro (1985) emphasises the importance of ‘positive learner and teacher attitudes’ in language learning rather than focusing on the nature of student motivation components. She points out that all of the motivations that students bring into the classroom are useful for language learning regardless of their instructional or integrative origins. Finocchiaro (1985: 59, emphasis added) goes on thus:

Contrary to some popular misconceptions, motivation is not either extrinsic or intrinsic, or if you prefer, instrumental or integrative; it is not something that is fostered only during the first half hour of the academic year, it does not depend solely on the learner’s aptitudes, personality, or learning strategies. Motivation stems rather from *positive learner and teacher attitudes* which should permeate every stage of the learning process if this process is to lead to pleasure and success in language acquisition (Finocchiaro, 1985: 59).

In this vein, Tisher (1996), emphasises that the teachers' task is to arouse students to change their behaviour and to direct their energies in some particular direction rather than teachers having to 'motivate' students to do something.

The motivation issue then has two distinct elements to it. While language research tends to focus on the nature of student motivation in order to explain academic achievements foreign language learning, the alternative approach emphasises the relationships between student motivation and teacher behaviour toward students. In the latter perspective, teachers take a significantly more important role in achieving academic achievements because student motivation to learn can be increased or reduced by what teachers do. *So* that this interactionist line is expanded, I now discuss how teacher expectations of individual students are linked to students' perceptions, self-expectations and motivations.

Teacher Expectations and Students' Future Academic Performances

Teacher expectations of students have the potential to affect students in two ways. The first is that teacher expectations affect a student's present and future achievements directly by influencing the amount that the student learns in class. The other effect is that expectations influence a student's motivation to learn indirectly (Brophy and Good, 1974).

Hargreaves (1975) and Good and Brophy (2000, 2002) suggest that teachers progress through a number of stages when they develop expectations of students. This is not surprising given the symbolic interactionist stance on the

development of self-concept, the 'looking-glass self' and the need to build an interpretive repertoire. The first stage is that of predictions based on a teacher's interpretive schemes or ideologies of education before meeting students for the first time. Nash (1976) uses the constructs of one teacher as an example. For this teacher, students are: bright/dull, quiet/noisy, vivacious/subdued, independent/gang member, well behaved/poorly behaved, mature/immature, demanding of attention /undemanding of attention. These predispose the teacher for what is to come.

The second stage occurs in the initial meetings. Students are able to 'read' the expectations of the teacher within a few minutes and, if nothing happens to break the emergent mental template, the pattern becomes habitual after a few meetings.

At the third stage, subsequent patterns of interaction occur when the teacher and student respond to each other. Interaction patterns are dependent on the teachers' high, low, positive or negative expectations of students that in turn are reflected back in responses. Fourth, retrospective assessment and reflection leads to reinforcement or modification of interpretive schemes. It is of some interest that the interpretive schemes of experienced teachers are likely to be more judgmental and stereotyped about students than those of inexperienced teachers who are likely to be less stereotyped and less dogmatic because they lack 'experience' in the game (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1998).

A teacher's expectations of student performance are either explicit, or implicit predictions that reflect the teacher's view of the learning process, student performance and the teacher's function in the learning situation (Ferguson, Hook, Lomas, Rattray-Wood, Saltzgaver, Smyth and Wells, 1981). Teachers develop these impressions based on their own personal experience and the amount of information they have, or think they have, about the student and the learning situation in the classroom. It seems that once these impressions are formed, teachers may be incapable or unwilling to change them with possibly adverse effects on students, progress and achievement.

Studies by Braun (1976, 1985) show that teacher expectations of individual students are significantly related to students' self-expectations and academic performance. Numerous studies have found that students' characteristics are strongly related to the development of teacher expectations of academic performance. For example, a student's gender, ethnic background, physical attractiveness, socio-economic status, use of standard English, accent and retention status are all factors influencing the development of teachers' expectations about academic performance (Gottfredson, Marciniak, Birdseye, and Gottfredson, 1995; Witty and DeBaryshe, 1994). Braun (1985) argues that teachers' beliefs and perceptions of students are communicated and delivered to students through behaviours such as grouping, expectant voice prompting, quality and quantity of interaction, differential activities and questions.

Vasquez (1988) also indicates that teachers' expectations are communicated to students verbally or non-verbally and that expectations affect student performance. Moreover, teachers' high, low, positive and negative expectations

toward students are significantly related to differential teacher behaviours (Brophy and Good, 1970; Good and Brophy, 1972, 1974, 1985, 1997, 2000, 2002). Students respond to such differential treatment from their teachers through internalising their teachers' expectations and using them as the basis of their own self-evaluations: the classical symbolic interactional prescription for the development of self-concept and role. As a result, self-expectations of students influence their own motivation to learn and behaviour with the end result being a positive or negative influence on learning and academic achievements (Braun, 1985).

There is evidence that the dynamics of these processes have effects. The powerful influence of expectations is confirmed in the study by McAninch, Milich and Harris (1996) in which teachers' academic expectancy toward students was investigated. The study examined elementary students aged 7 to 11. Students were led to believe that their partner was either intelligent or not intelligent. It was found that the teachers' manipulated expectations for students directly affected the students' academic performance and were self-fulfilling. The children who had a partner who belonged in the 'smart' category were perceived as a 'smarter' person and performed better than did perceivers in the 'not smart' category. Significantly, McAninch, Milich, and Harris (1996) indicate that patterns of social relations have higher saliency than ascribed characteristics such as gender.

Gottfredson, Marciniak, Birdseye and Gottfredson (1995) identified the relationships between teacher expectations and student achievement through a

program called Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement (TESA). TESA aimed to reduce the negative influence of low teacher expectations. The study compared two groups of students in the same school whose teachers were and were not involved in the TESA program respectively. While TESA participants generally performed no better on the achievement tests than non-participants in the same school, the pattern of teacher responses in the TESA program showed that TESA teachers rarely showed negative responses toward their students regardless of their academic level or ability.

One of the earliest naturalistic investigations of teacher expectations was conducted by Rist (1970) and BTES (Beginning Teacher Evaluation Study) in the 1970s. Rist (1970) showed that how social class factors influence the expectation of teachers in the classroom and several factors in the character of the teacher-student interaction. As the BTES study progressed, the focus changed to the effects of teacher behaviour on student achievement with experienced teachers rather than beginning teachers.

Brophy and Good (1986) point out that the qualitative research data generated by BTES both replicate the major finding from studies using low-inference coding and extend those findings in important ways. Thus:

One major extension is into the affective area. Perhaps better than any others, these data show that academically effective teachers can also be warm, student oriented individuals who develop a generally positive classroom atmosphere and not merely an efficient learning environment. Concerning instruction, the data indicate the importance of pacing at a rate appropriate to the group, and within this, of responding to the needs of individuals (Brophy and Good, 1986: 351).

According to Good and Brophy's (1972, 1974, 1978, 1984, 1997, 2000, 2002), teachers tend to exhibit different behaviours toward individual students, based on their expectations. Thus, teachers provided high achievers more opportunities to ask questions and gave them more praise, while they gave less attention to the low achievers, waiting a shorter time for responses to questions, and exhibiting fewer positive non-verbal behaviours. These differential behaviours, are perceived by students and they respond to them in ways that affect self-concept and motivation for achievement. No matter what type of expectations a teacher has toward students, they lead to differential teacher behaviour (Braun, 1976, 1980; Brophy and Good, 1970; Good and Brophy, 1972, 1974, 1978, 1984, 1997, 2000, 2002; Finn, 1972; Rist, 1970).

This is exceptionally clear in Ginieri's (1981) study of teachers' perceptions of students, the relationships between both the 'characteristics' of students and teacher-students interactions based on the teachers' differential expectations. The study of 252 students, grade 10, and 22 teachers from 3 high schools in Athens was based on two sets of students divided into two groups defined as 'favourable' or 'unfavourable' according to teachers' evaluations. Through observation of teacher-student interactions, the study found evidence of differential treatment of students by teachers. The results show that the high-expectation students in the higher ability groups were more frequently selected for more difficult academic questions and were provided with more support in correcting an incorrect answer than above-average students. Above-average students received more disciplinary contacts and were more often criticised for incorrect answers. In the low expectation lower-ability group's case, students

received a higher rate of criticism for incorrect answers and for failure to respond.

Babad and Taylor's (1992) study is important for this discussion because the interactionist perspective assumes that non-verbal cues are as important as the verbal. Their study investigated teachers' non-verbal behaviour expectancy when teachers were 'talking about' and 'talking to' high expectancy and low expectancy students.

The study also investigated teachers' facial expressions and body language. It was found that teachers have distinctive nonverbal styles affecting facial expressions and body language when they have interactions with high and low expectancy students. The results also show that the distinctive patterns of teacher expectancy of behaviours, however, are not culture specific. That is, they operate in different cultural traditions. This is an essential insight for this thesis. It will be extended to trans-cultural contents in later discussion.

Low expectations of the teacher toward students are considered to be more critical and significant than high expectations. There are several contributing pieces of evidence here. First, Oakes' (1983) research indicates that teachers' low expectations of their students can become a self-fulfilling prophecy that results in lower student achievement than might otherwise be the case. Previous studies have emphasised how teachers' differential behaviour toward students of different ability levels influence student motivation, self-concepts, perception of their ability, and level of aspiration (Good, 1981; Marcus, Cross, and

Seefeldt, 1991). Teachers with low expectations for their students typically exhibit less praise, criticise more, and provide less supporting feedback (Jones and Greig, 1994; Brophy and Good, 1970; Good and Brophy, 1997, 2000, 2002).

Second, Babad's (1996) work in 80 classrooms in the upper grades of Israeli elementary schools found that low, average and high achieving students differ in their ratings of the learning climate and in negative comments offered about their teachers. His work suggests that teachers distribute fairly equal feedback to all students and provide extra learning support for low achievers in the instructional domain. They also offer a warmer emotional climate and more positive effect to high achievers than they do to low achievers. These conclusions suggest that the interaction patterns in classrooms could change the educational outcomes.

Third, Soar and Soar (1979) point out that highly controlling teachers are not necessarily negative or rejecting, and low controlling teachers are not necessarily positive in their effects on students. This work suggests that negative emotional climate indicators of teachers toward students (e.g., teacher criticism, negative teacher or student affect) generally show significant negative correlations with achievement, while positive emotional climate indicators of teachers (e.g., teacher praise, positive teacher or student affect) generally do not show significant positive correlations.

The fact that teachers have views about their students and then use them in instructional settings is also affected by their pre-service professional education. Honvitz (2000) claims that in the 1930s, teachers predicted success in language learning according to beliefs about what constitutes a 'good' or a 'poor' student. In the 1960s, students were classified as 'intelligent' and 'average' as terms like aptitude replaced labels like good and bad, and 'motivation or lack thereof, is recognised in a social context rather than as a character asset or flaw' (Honvitz (2000: 533). The background for this change was the importance of recognising and responding to individual learner differences by their aptitude, ability, motivation, positive attitudes toward the target language and culture. This is a key issue according to Honvitz. Moreover, teachers' concepts about students as good and bad, were considered to be was the emergence of Kelly's (1955) model of human interaction that played on integrative and instrumental motivation (Honvitz, 2000). However, Horwitz (2000) states:

I will leave to the reader the question of whether such changes are merely cosmetic with an eye to social acceptability or representative of a true maturation in the profession's thinking about learners. The fact that MLJ (Modern Language Journal) authors continue to offer new frameworks for understanding language learners and suggestions for teacher-student interactions implies that language teachers are still not of a common mind on these issues and that the teacher-student partnership is likely to continue to evolve in the coming decades (Horwitz, 2000: 533).

Finally, the expectation framework fits settings other than those of schooling. Solomon, DiMarco, Ohlson and Reece (1998) discuss the perception and expectations of athletes by coaches:

When a coach's perceptions of an athlete are consistently communicated and understood by the athlete, they can impact the athlete's future performance and psychological growth in a positive or negative manner. If the athlete's behaviour is altered to conform to the coach's original expectation, it may reinforce the coach's original assessment of the

athlete. As the result, the cyclical nature of the self-fulfilling prophecy is supported. Coach feedback, defined as providing information regarding performance, is a critical part of the behavioural encouragement athletes receives (Solomon, DiMarco, Ohlson and Reece, 1998:444).

In short, teachers, coaches, people, tend to establish different expectations of each other and then act on them. In instructional settings, teachers establish differential expectations of individual students according to their perceptions of a student's personal characteristics and performances. Teachers' high, low, positive or negative expectations toward students are significantly related to differential teacher behaviours (Brophy and Good, 1970; Connell et al, 1983; Good and Brophy, 1972, 1974, 1985, 1997; Griffin and Cole, 1989; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 1991). The argument then is that teachers' expectations are the basis of a self-fulfilling cycle of predictions about student ability developed in classroom interaction between teachers and students. Thus, students respond to teachers' expectations and this is reflected in their performances. This dynamic can create what is called a 'self-fulfilling prophesy' (Good and Brophy, 1984, 1987, 1997, 2000, 2002; Cooper and Good, 1983). The self-fulfilling prophecy is not a template or a forecast as much as it is a possible scenario comprised of variables that act as driving forces. While most of the driving forces need to be present for the prophecy to incubate and develop, there are no guarantees that it will in any given setting. For the purposes of this thesis, the depiction of the self-fulfilling prophecy proposed by Hargreaves (1972, 1975) is heuristic.

Theoretical Possibilities for the Relations Between Teacher Expectations and Students' Academic Achievement (Hargreaves, 1972: 61; 1975: 38).

The self-fulfilling prophecy is most likely to occur if

- (a) the teacher has an unstable conception of the student's ability
- (b) the student has an unstable conception of his or her own ability (or a stable conception that is congruent with the teacher's conception of his or her ability).
- (c) the student perceives the teacher as a significant other

The self-fulfilling prophecy is least likely to occur if

- (a) the teacher has a stable conception of the student's ability
- (b) the student has a stable conception of his or her ability and this conception is congruent with that of the teacher
- (c) the student perceives the teacher as a significant other

The scenario dimension of the self-fulfilling prophecy based on Hargreaves' scheme has four empirical possibilities. They are:

Scenario 1: students are perceived as bright by the teacher and perceive themselves as bright and perceive the teacher as a significant person	Scenario 2: students are perceived as dull by the teacher and perceive themselves as dull and perceive the teacher as a significant person
Scenario 3: students are perceived as bright by the teacher but believe themselves to be dull and regard the teacher as not a significant person	Scenario 4: students are perceived as dull by the teacher but believe themselves to be bright and regard the teacher as not a significant other.

(After Nash, 1976: 61-62)

This is a powerful theoretical scaffold for understanding teacher and student interactions. Before exploring it further, I now discuss expectations amongst Korean teachers in Korea as a way of both universalising and relativising the interactional model.

Native Korean Teacher Expectations of Students in Korea

As mentioned earlier, there are few studies of social interaction patterns that are based on native Korean teachers' expectations of students in Australian tertiary Korean language classes and how these affect interactions and relations between them. Accordingly, I provide a cultural background for understanding the expectations of teachers in Korea. In this way, insights can be had about native Korean teachers' expectations of students in Australia.

Robinson (1993, 1994) used qualitative research and statistical methods to study 180 students, 30 parents and 6 teachers in South Korea. In addition, 58 teachers completed questionnaires and information from school records in elementary schools in South Korea were collected in the study.

Robinson's study shows Korean teachers develop expectations toward students by interpreting socio-economic status (SES) cues. They account for the social class of parents, especially the level of parents **and** other family members' education, as well as their financial situation.

Robinson provides an example of how a teacher in the sample evaluates students, for instance, the child comes from a poor home; the parents are not interested in the education of their children; the father (or mother) has disappeared; the parents are strongly interested in education, and the child is from a well-educated family (Robinson, 1993).

In addition, his research found that teachers believe that parental concern and support for their child's education is more important than IQ in producing academic achievement. It is clearly reflected in a teacher's comment in his study.

A bright child whose parents have little concern for his or her education will be just an average student, but the child of average intelligence whose parents show a great deal of concern will become an excellent student (Robinson, 1993: 55).

Robinson concludes that 'prejudice' in the classroom could be based on socio-economic status. In this study I generalise the term 'prejudice' to remove its pejorative tone and not that Korean teachers are likely to teachers have expectations about students and that such expectations have effects on students.

Robinson later confirmed his findings. His 1994 qualitative study examined how social status affects teachers' expectation and students' academic success in South Korea. The study identified how teacher expectations of student academic performance are based on the perceived social status of the child's family; how these teachers' SES expectations influence teacher-student interactions in class; how these expectations and interactions affect students peer-group interaction; and how all of the above relate to academic achievement. The South Korean elementary school study involved 390 students in 6 classes, 64 teachers and 30 parents.

The results showed that South Korean teachers believe that social status strongly influences educational achievement and that teacher expectations and behaviours are built on students' socio-economic-status indicators. These

teachers believe that different home environments or backgrounds create differential behaviours and results. Thus, when a teacher perceives that a child is from a higher SES background, the teacher tends to automatically have higher expectations of a student's achievement. The results also show that Korean teachers tend to provide control behaviours for lower expectation students which discourages participation, while different types of action such as praise, giving of errands, eye contact, touching, talking privately with students, and tone of voice vary for different SES students.

These studies demonstrate that parents' social status is converted into academic achievement for the children of South Korea. Students recreate their parents' social system in the classroom. Robinson (1994: 524-525) indicates that 'the peer group hierarchy confirms a teacher's power to establish a hidden tracking system, based on expectations that students from particular social groups will have specific level of academic achievement'. Thus, the interaction patterns identified earlier, and the mechanisms of the self-fulfilling prophecy appear to have a role in Korean classrooms just as they do elsewhere.

The effects on SES on teacher and student behaviour has been investigated for many years in Western education fields. SES is defined as:

a broad concept that comprises three main dimensions: occupation, education and wealth. In the higher education context, the dimension relating to parental occupation and education are most salient. These dimensions have been linked to educational attainments...(Western et al. 1998: xi).

Long, Carpenter and Haydon (1999: 76) conclude from their national Australian study that 'SES' is a strong feature of the Australian school and university level

scene. Children of high **SES** parents are more likely to complete Year 12, enter post school education and training and more likely to enter university. Significantly for this thesis,

Much of the effect of parental education on the Year 12 graduates to higher education was transmitted through *the expectations of significant others, school achievement, self-concept of ability* and type of school attended (Long, Carpenter and Haydon, 1999: 76, emphasis added).

In summary, teacher expectation is known to have an affect on student performances and motivation to learn. Teachers' perceptions of students can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The mechanisms distilled by Hargreaves and appear to operate in both Australia and Korea. The interactional patterns in Korean language classes as Australian and other categories of students perceive and respond to Korean teachers' expectations then are of central interest in this thesis. It is appropriate now to explicate the nature of mechanisms of 'expectations' and how the operative mechanisms.

Interactions in the Classroom

Returning to Hargreaves' (1972) model, interaction in the classroom is a process in which 'the teacher makes clear to the pupils his own conception of his classroom role and the specific ways or style in which he intends to perform his role'. Implicit in the teacher's definition of his own role is a definition of the pupil's role. Teachers' basic roles in the classroom are acting as a disciplinarian and instructor, and the teacher's expectations of the students will depend on the way the teacher interprets these two sub-roles. These possibilities are not unexpected given the literature reviewed so far.

Student characteristics form the bedrock of a teacher's framework to undertake perception, interpretation and evaluation of students' behaviours. Terms and labels are frequently used describe types of students. (Hargreaves 1972: 154) offers the following list from a school setting.

	Positive Label	Negative label
General	Good lad	Nuisance
	Sound	Pain-in-the-neck
	Promising	Fool
	Nice	Trouble-maker
Instructional	Hard worker	Idler
	Bright	Thickhead
	Neat	Untidy
Disciplinary	Quiet	Chatterbox
	Polite	Cheeky
Peer	Leader	Ring-leader
	Friendly	Bully
	Popular	Lone-wolf

(Hargreaves 1972: 154)

Hargreaves (1972: 163) suggests that the way the students define interactions differ from the teacher's view. Students in western schools define teacher behaviours which they like or dislike.

	Like	Dislike
	A teacher who...	A teacher who...
Discipline	-keeps good control -is fair;	-is too strict; is too lax -has favourites
Instruction	-explains and helps -gives interesting lessons	-does not explain; gives little help -gives dull or boring lessons does not know the subject well
Personality	-is cheerful, friendly, patient understanding -has a good sense of humour -treats students as individuals	-nags, ridicules, is sarcastic bad tempered, unkind -has no sense of humour -ignores individual differences

(Hargreaves, 1972: 163)

Similarly, Laurillard (1993: 65-68) discusses the differences between student and teacher perspectives on teaching and learning in university settings. The sites are different, the solutions are of different levels of abstraction but the underlying issue remains the same. A study of Raviv, Raviv and Reisel (1990) is a good example. They compared teachers' and students' perceptions of the classroom in 78 6th grade classes in Israel, As the researchers expected, their findings indicate that the teachers and students differ in their respective perceptions of their classrooms. Some researchers argue that students' reports are more reliable because they reflect the objective reality more than teachers' reports (e.g. Wubbles and Levy, 1993) and teachers, according to Witty and DeBaryshe (1994) and Babad (1996) tend to defend their position.

Again, Levy, Brekelmans, Wubbles and Ivlos (1992) examined the relationships between characteristics of tertiary level students and teachers and their perceptions of teacher communication style. The results demonstrate that teachers of different subjects differ in the amount of dominance they display. They found that the nature of the subject taught is the main factor that influences teacher-student relations rather than a teacher's sex, age, and number of years of experience. According to the study, foreign language teachers tend to be more dominant due to the teacher-centred methodology used in foreign language classrooms. Social studies teachers are, in contrast, less dominant compared to other subject teachers. In addition, the results show that student characteristics do not strongly affect students' perceptions of the teacher's communication style. This may be an effect of the 'discipline-centred' pedagogy that predominates in tertiary teaching,

Tertiary teachers' communication style and skills feature in Frymier and Houser's (2000) study of teacher-students relationship as an interpersonal relationship with 92 university students in the USA. Their study focused on teachers' communication skills and its influence on students' perception, motivation and learning. The study found that students reported referential skill, ego support and conflict management as being most important to effective teaching. It also found that there are strong relationships between teachers' referential skills, support and immediacy behaviour, and students' learning and motivation. These factors appear to be mediating the teacher expectation and students' learning effects reported earlier but it is apparent that students 'know' 'good teaching'.

Staples (1994) for example examined the classroom interactions between 43 college teachers and their 609 students in Canada. The study examined the relationship between attitudes, perceptions and practices of students and teachers as evaluators of educational quality. The findings indicate that there was a general lack of consonance between students' and their teachers' attitudes about the characteristics of the ideal teacher, This is Hargreaves' (1972: 153-154) point. He argues that the role and role style of teachers are important in understanding why some are better than others **and** affect interaction with students in classes differentially. The 'good' teacher ('good' teacher sometimes appears as 'effective' teacher as well) role depends on its appropriateness to the teacher, the students and the situation. The good teacher considers the uniqueness of every teaching situation and monitors his or her role.

Hargreaves' specifications of the 'good' teacher role can be compared with Lah's (1998) study of 15 native English speakers who learned Korean language for 2 years at an Australian university. Lah investigated the perceptions of Korean language learners about the roles of 'teacher' and 'learner' using qualitative methods. She categorises the role of 'good' Korean teachers as follows:

- (1) Give explanations for questions
- (2) Provide learning content
- (3) Assess learning progress
- (4) Motivate and provide a learning environment**
- (5) Are native speakers of the language and native to the culture (Lah, 1998: 383).

In contrast, Lah (1998) specifies the role of Korean language learners as:

- (1) Studies diligently
- (2) Participate in the class activities
- (3) Is prepared for the class lesson
- (4) Uses and practises the language**
- (5) Meets the course criteria
- (6) Is able to ask for help (Las, 1998: 387).

Lah concludes that there are no differences between how Korean language students perceive the roles of learners and teachers and traditional roles. Her study is limited by silence on how Korean teachers understand the different cultural role of the teacher and student, how Korean teachers establish their expectations toward Australian students, and further how Australian students perceive their Korean teachers' behaviours toward them in the classroom. In a revealing comment, Lah (1998: 388) concludes that Australian students in her study are 'not quite ready or prepared to assume more responsibilities in their language learning in their current environment'. If the literature reviewed in this thesis is only partly correct in what it says about teacher expectations then there are implications for Korean language teaching in Australia. That is to say,

if a teacher has this perception of students, it is likely the students' capability to achieve good results will be limited. The findings from studies of Brophy and Good (1984, 1987, 1997, 2000, 2002), Hargreaves (1972; 1975), and Nash (1976) suggest that work such as Lah's is a starting point but has to be extended into the details of teacher/student expectations to be of value.

In short, interaction between teachers and students is the fundamental process of education in its interpersonal aspects. According to their different roles, teachers and students have different perspectives from which to define the interactions in class. Furthermore, teacher-student interaction and relationships affect students' perception of teachers as well as their learning. In discussing teacher and student relationships, a context is assumed. Furthermore, it is assumed that there is a medium in which there is an eternal, unchanging set of meanings that is both verbal and non-verbal. This context is classroom culture.

Cultural Diversity in Classroom

Behavioural assumptions and values regulate classrooms, like any other setting. These create contrasts in the behaviour of teachers and students alike, and provide possibilities for influencing the values. Values and behavioural rules are also determined by the classroom location, namely universities. Simultaneously, they rely on the tradition in which teachers and students form their early identities. In short, these characteristics define a culture composed of standards for perceiving, acting, predicting, judging and valuing.

Education is 'the central agency of cultural transmission' in western and western-like states (Yates, 1986: 72). Erickson (1997) argues that culture shapes and is shaped by learning and teaching in everyday life in families, in school classrooms, in community settings, and in the workplace. At a general level, classroom culture is defined as including 'what members of a group think about social actions; culture encompasses alternatives for resolving problems in collective life' (Lortie, 1975: 216). Classrooms are small-scale places where people are positioned within special, local contexts given by the institution of education. To this extent, local classroom theory is eclectic rather than exotic theory (Tsing, 1993). However, classrooms and education as an institution also embody deep-seated themes that give meaning to communities and nations. The local is always subject to these overarching themes.

Culture is one of the themes in this study because culture and pedagogy are closely interactive. Culture refer to a system of values and to conceptual system, to a system of behaviour and to a communication system, which have been socially constructed and are socially transmitted as part of a group's heritage and as the framework and medium of its life (Figueroac, 1997). Thus, culture is the system of understanding characteristic of society. This system of understanding includes values, beliefs, notions about socially acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and other socially constructed ideas that members of the culture are taught are 'true' (Eugene, 1999: 67). Culture can be learned and transmitted from generation to generation and affects every aspects of people's life from personal, familial, communal, institutional to societal. Culture is a product of human creativity in action thus every person and social group uses

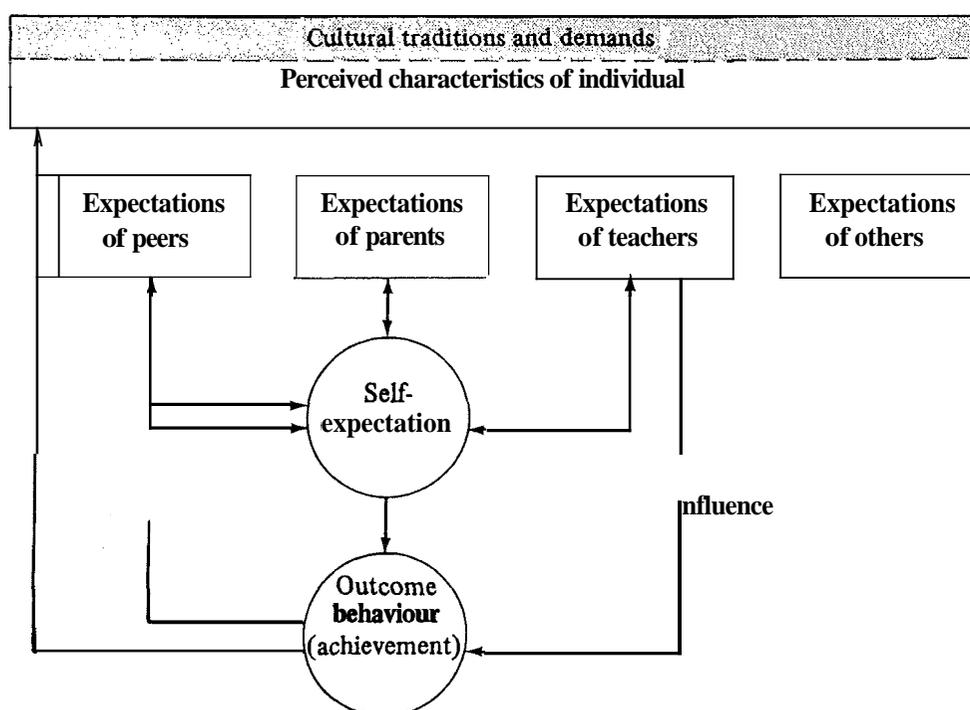
culture as a tool for the conduct of human activity (Erickson, 1997). Culture also is a sedimentation of the historical experience of persons and of social groupings of various kinds such as family and relatives, gender, ethnicity, race and social class, all with differing access to power in society (Erickson, 1997). Moreover, culture is sedimented deeply into the unconsciousness of individuals through the routinisation of action (Bates, 1993). The explanatory value of the culture concept is that it draws attention to the existence and use of principles of, and for, carrying on social life.

Based on culture, education becomes the principal means by which society is transformed, and by which citizens are prepared to take their place in it (Hulmes, 1989). Although, traditionally, culture and learning have been studied as separate disciplines, culture is the most significant factor that influential to pedagogies, teachers and students. Finn (1972) figure shows that how culture, expectations (from teachers, parents, and peers students), are related to a student's self-expectations and his or her academic achievement (See Figure 1. Network of Expectations). Doubtlessly, it shows that culture is the basis for pedagogy in every society.

My notion of classroom culture is that it is a process rather than a collection of things, objects or clear-cut structures that determine educational outcomes. For this study, culture is a medium in and through which the everyday practices of classroom life are enacted; and by which teachers and students draw on accumulated solutions to recurrent problems so that they can adapt to seemingly new situations.

Culture then is not exclusively within the heads of individual people as some anthropology and cognitive science would have it, but both within people's thought processes and the practices they enact with each other. Classroom culture is then always threatened with the whiff of the new while re-interpreting what has gone before. In this respect, the cross cultural classroom is a laboratory containing well drilled recipes and innovative challenging for both teachers and students. Before discuss how culture, pedagogy and teachers are related to each other, it is necessary to discuss culture as two aspects namely, visible and invisible culture in order to understand cultural influences on teaching and learning.

Figure 1. Network of expectations (Finn, 1972: 395).



Visible and Invisible Culture

Similar to pedagogy, culture is also characterised as visible and invisible, explicit and implicit, or overt and covert (Erickson, 1997; Hall, 1976; Philips, 1983). As humans learn and use culture in everyday life, culture becomes habitual and appears as visible as well as invisible (Erickson, 1997). Visible part of culture is easily identified such as language, food, religion, dance, music, dress and so on. Invisible part of culture far more difficult to identify as they do not appear visually such as belief systems, value, attitudes, and ways of acting and interacting that characterise a social group. The attitudes and beliefs people have about learning and teaching and the views people have about teachers, students, classrooms and schools are invisible parts of culture. Those invisible parts of culture are likely to be difficult to be understood compared to visible part of culture.

Cultural diversity issues in education tend to focus on visible, explicit aspects of culture (Erickson, 1997). Invisible and implicit aspect of culture is as important as visible aspect of culture, particularly in classroom settings. For example, when students in Australia learn from teachers who have different cultural backgrounds with different invisible cultural assumptions and patterns for behaviours, such as native Korean teachers, students do not recognise what Korean teachers are doing as cultural origin unless Korean teachers understand and recognise both side of cultures, Korea and Australia, especially invisible aspect of cultures and apply Australian invisible cultures in their patterns of behaviours toward students. Unlike visible aspect of culture, invisible aspect of culture is not easily adoptable or can be understood. There is failure to

understand different invisible culture of others, people tend to apply clinical labels to others with different culture such as passive, aggressive, low self-esteem, rude or uncooperative (Erickson, 1997). Differences in invisible culture can lead serious situation of inter-group conflict because the difficulty lies in people' inability to recognise others' differences in ways of acting as cultural rather than personal (Erickson, 1997). Erickson (1997) states that:

We tend to naturalise other people's behaviour and blame them-attributing intentions, judging competence-without realising that we are experiencing culture rather than nature (Erickson, 1997:41).

As modern society become more multicultural than ever before, handling the issues of differences in invisible culture become more difficult, particularly formal organisations institutions such as schools (Erickson, 1997). Gumperz (1982) and Hymes (1974) identifi aspects of invisible culture into two parts namely, language community and speech community, by linguistic and cognitive orientations. Members in the same language community share knowledge of a language such as the sound system, grammar, and vocabulary. In side of the same language community, there are diverse speech communities or networks. A group of people who share assumptions about the purpose of speaking, modes of politeness, topics of interest, ways of responding to others. Because those cultural assumptions dealing with ways of speaking differ considerably, even though at a general level all are uttering the same language. That is a reason that language community differences are visible, while speech community differences are often invisible (Erickson, 1997).

Gumpers, Jupp and Roberts (1979) identifi different definitions of the situation and appropriate behaviours, different ways of structuring information or an

argument in a conversation and different ways of speaking, for example, tone of voice, signal connections, and logic as potential points of miss-communication in cross-cultural settings.

Invisible culture in classroom situations may lead problems as the culture concept adopted by teachers affect teacher-student interaction. Eugene (1999) indicates that the assumptions a teacher makes about students' culture(s) preclude not only flexible, realistic and open-minded teacher-student interaction but also the educational process, which is a process of social interaction with socialisation as a primary goal. The cultural assumptions behind of pedagogy tend to be used as a part of professional common sense that teachers consider such assumptions as invisible culture (Erickson, 1997). However, Kauchak and Eggen (1998) argue that when teachers deal with culturally different students, they need to understand the cultures of the students they teach, communicate positive attitudes about cultural diversity and employ a variety of instructional approaches that accommodate cultural diversity. **As** schools are social situations that are constructed through the interactions between individual, schools in every society make cultural demands on students in terms of rules, patterns and structures of organisation (Eugene, 1999).

The study of Stevenson and Stigler (1992) is an example of the complexities that can arise in such settings. They compared to classroom cultures in China, Japan, and the **USA** and found that effort and hard work are likely to be emphasised in Asian classrooms while an emphasis on innate ability in the American classrooms led to lower expectations about what can be accomplished

through persistent effort. Thus, it is possible that Asian students perceived to be less talented in American school and have a lesser academic demand from western teachers. In contrast, western students might perceive that Asian teachers pressure them with high academic demand.

Culture, Pedagogy and Teachers

Pedagogy can be defined as the principles and methods of teaching, thus, the way teachers carries out their task of presenting new knowledge and experiences to their students (Esland, 1972). These principles and methods are related to many other aspects of school life as they are hndamental to all notions of what constitutes ‘being educated’ (Esland, 1972: 9). Pedagogy deals with the integration in practice of particular curriculum content and design, classroom strategies and techniques, a time and space for the practice of those strategies and techniques, and evaluation purposes and methods (Giroux and Simon, 1989). In this sense, pedagogy is about how teachers and students engage in the learning task together to produce particular notions of high-status knowledge, specific views of authority, and selected representations of self-and collective identity in particular sets of social relations (Giroux, 1989). According to Giroux (1989), any pedagogy of student experience needs to be related to the notion of learning for empowerment. He argues that classroom practices must be developed that draw upon student experience as both a narrative for agency and as a referent for critique because modes of pedagogy critically engage the knowledge and experience through which students authorise their own voices and social identities (Giroux, 1989).

To this extent, pedagogy fuses culture and a teacher's self-presentation so that it is 'subjective in the teacher's own intentions, preferences and taken-for-granted assumptions, and it is objective in the social organisation of the school' (Esland, 1972: 27). In this sense, 'pedagogy is *culture*' (Esland, 1972. 10) that is realised as teachers making judgements about the work, disposition, and intellectual statuses of students and that these judgements form the basis of their pedagogical actions in the classroom. Thus teachers continuously present a particular kind of 'self' that serve to maintain an appropriate relationship between themselves and students. Consequently, the nature of the teacher's presented self has important implications for students' learning experiences in the classroom.

In fact, subjective aspect of pedagogy, self-presentations, is important for teacher-student relationship in classroom than objective dimensions of pedagogy. Esland (1972) emphasises on the importance of the pedagogical identity of teachers such as how they think of their classroom tasks and relationships and how they come to structure learning situations in particular ways. This is because pedagogy includes not only what is visible in the teacher's behaviour (e.g., the methods, technique, language, the presentation of ideas) but also invisible meanings, assumptions and intentions that based on behind these actions. Esland (1972) argues that pedagogy is invisible insofar as teachers' actions rest on the references that they make from the many phenomena that occur in the classroom. These inferences are related to teachers professional understandings of the task they are engaged in and they are important to understand how teachers categorise their students in particular

ways, 'to allocate to them certain kinds of curricular experience and to assess the worth of their intellectual output' (Esland, 1972:27).

Cultural Differences Between Teacher and Students

Most nations used to consist of the same ethnic backgrounds and education as well as other kinds of human interactions were predicated on common set of cultural norms. It was the assumed goal of the schools to build on the common acculturation that had already begun in the home and other institutions of the nation. Meade (1996: 1) argues that 'behavioural sciences have long recognised that schools are second only to the home in developing these cultural norms both formally as well as informally in their classroom activities'. However, as cultural diversity has more common in many parts of the world, the schools are now faced with the problems and increasing prospect of teaching a multi-cultural classroom whereas the schools once charged with teaching students of one single culture.

Many studies have been conducted in which there is cultural differences in the classroom between teacher and students (Avery and Walker, 1993; Cabello and Burstein, 1995; Gay, 1993; Meade, 1996; Rodriguez and Sjostrom, 1995; Shaw and Reyes, 1992; Zhu, 1991). These studies, however, tend to focus on the cultural diversity of students in the classroom rather than the teacher's nation, race and background and their effects. In some of these studies, the research questions are similar to those of this study which are directed at the cultural distance between teacher and students where the teacher is the culturally different person and the students wish to learn the teachers' culture.

Zhu (1991) discusses the differences between western and Asian instructional methods, especially those of China in university classrooms in the United States of America. She recounts her own experiences in cross-cultural communication, in her teacher - student relationship. She also notes the difficulties she had as an Asian teacher in a western country and the way she overcame the obstacles between herself and her western students. Especially relevant for this thesis are her remarks about being educated in the educational philosophy of an Asian country as she seeks to promote cross-cultural communication for effective classroom interaction between the teacher and students. Zhu argues that there is a significant difference between Asian and western styles of education with Asian countries generally following a teacher-centred methodology in contrast to the student-centred approach of western countries. This difference creates serious problems between teachers and students, as western students are dissatisfied with a class that uses a 'teacher-centred method'.

DeCourcy's (1995) findings are similar to those of Zhu. DeCourcy compares the French and Chinese immersion program in Australia. A major finding is that non-Asian teachers accept student opinions and requests regarding their lessons positively, while Chinese native teachers tend to interpret such actions by students as insulting and which result in negative attitudes to students. Students found it difficult to express themselves with the Chinese staff and were dissatisfied with their learning. The study indicates that teaching practices reflect teachers' beliefs, their own experiences, and background.

Cortazzi and Jin (1996) conducted a study with relevance to this thesis. They investigated cultural differences between Western English teachers and Chinese students in English classrooms in China. The survey research included 15 Western teachers of English from England, the USA and Australia, and 135 university students in China. Their study is concerned with how cultural differences between Western teachers and Chinese students encourage or discourage students' English language learning. One of their major findings is that Chinese students' expectations are deeply rooted in Confucianism in China. According to the study, Chinese students' perceptions and behaviours in classrooms are based on Confucianism, which affects interactions with western English teachers in classrooms. For example, the way Chinese students pose questions to teachers, the way they understand their role as a student in class (they consider the teacher as a symbol of knowledge, a key to a treasure-house of knowledge), learning styles, and motivation of study and so on. Also this study shows that Chinese students are familiar with teacher-centred teaching styles that emphasise knowledge of vocabulary and grammar and the result of learning, while western English teachers in China are using student-centred approaches that stress communication skills, language use and the process of learning.

Similarly, a study of Ling and Mok (1993) make comparisons of cultural differences in relation to schools between Hong Kong and Australia. They emphasise that there are clearly cultural differences in the value systems between these two countries. For example, Chinese people tend to act in accordance with external expectations or social norms rather than with the kind

of personal integrity valued by Westerners. By the strong influence of Confucian ideology, Hong Kong people placed great emphasis on academic achievement. This is the tradition of Chinese culture and the role of scholarship in it. In the Hong Kong school background, students' achievement can be viewed as 'contributing collectivistic rather than for personal interest, and teachers-student relationships tend to be hierarchical in nature, the power and authority of teachers tend to be accepted in schools without demand for justification' (Ling and Mok, 1993: 2).

The Cortazzi and Jin (1996) study concludes that a culture of learning appears differently between teachers and students in thoughts and behaviours and affects their goals and strategies in classrooms. 'Students' understanding of good learning and good teaching can be different from teachers' understanding when they have different cultural backgrounds.

However, 'expectation' in the Cortazzi and Jin (1996) study is more likely to be used to explain Chinese students' perception of the role of good teachers and good students. 'Expectation' in Cortazzi and Jin's study is related to English language learning strategies and styles, rather than investigating the connections between western English teacher expectations and Chinese students' performances.

Martinez and Martinez (1989: 101) also state that '...often teachers and students come from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds and represent opposite extremes, high and low, in academic achievement and motivation'.

The difference between teachers' and students' goals and viewpoints creates negative or unsuccessful interactions between them. Therefore, their study suggests that the teacher must understand the values and motives of students and how the students define the learning situation.

Not surprisingly, Gay (1993) indicates that teachers tend to select the teaching and learning process, such as illustrations, vignettes and scenarios, from their own personal experiences and frames of reference. Gay (1993: 288) states that 'these examples, which are supposed to make subject matter and intellectual abstractions meaningful to culturally different students, often are irrelevant, too'. He is concerned with issues related to the cultural and social distance between students and teachers, which can create an alarming schism in the instructional process because in classroom interactions, socio-cultural factors become significant obstacles to effective teaching and learning.

There are various aspects of teaching in different countries. Teachers' perceptions about their teaching are individual, unique, and usually in concord with their national education system and background. Bourke (1990) examined teacher perceptions about their teaching in eight countries. The countries involved in the study were Australia, Canada, Hungary, Israel, Netherlands, Nigeria, and Republic of Korea and Thailand.

Bourke's study is based on nine different aspects of teaching: (1) Selection of topics for teaching (2) Selection of instructional materials (3) Sequencing of instruction (4) Type of class organisation (5) Use of achievement tests (6)

Decision on student Process (7) Amount of homework given (8) Extent and type of reporting to parents (9) Extent and type of interaction with parents. According to Bourke, teachers in Australia are considered to have a higher level of responsibility for various aspects of teaching than Korean teachers (see Table 2). In contrast, a small number of Korean teachers reported that they were responsible for students' achievement, class organisation, instructional materials and selection of topics for teaching.

Bourke (1990) showed that Teachers' perceptions of teaching responsibility are strongly related to their behaviours. He concludes that teachers' positive feelings towards responsibility correlated with positive teaching behaviours, indicating a potentially important link for those interested in improving their teaching (Bourke, 1990: 325).

Table 2. Percentages of Teachers Who Consider They Have A High Level of Responsibility For Various Aspects of Teaching (based on Bourke, 1990: 320).

Country	Aspects of Teaching (%) *									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Australia	51	81	79	85	77	81	95	53	43	72
Korea	33	64	25	73	50	75	82	12	16	52
Canada										
-Ontario (En)	8	54	79	92	79	62	96	-	-	67
-Ontario (Fr)	11	50	83	100	89	33	83	89	78	68
-Quebec	-	62	38	95	81	-	95	57	10	49
Hungary	3	3	22	23	69	46	64	77	59	41
Israel	58	58	84	63	81	83	95	89	89	78
Netherlands	4	26	24	56	65	38	88	33	52	42
Nigeria	41	64	73	43	57	19	91	33	24	51
Thailand	20	46	35	47	34	25	60	53	47	41
Mean (all countries)	23	51	54	68	68	46	85	55	46	56

* Perceived responsibility for the following aspects of teaching:

ST= Selection of topics for teaching, SM= Selection of instructional materials,
SI= Sequencing of instruction, CO= Type of class organisation,
UT= Use of achievement tests, DP= Decision on student Process,
AH= Amount of homework given, RP= Extent and type of reporting to parents,
IP= Extent and type of interaction with parents (including parent nights and home visits).

Moreover, Ladson-Billings (1995) suggests a useful theory of culturally relevant teaching with three criteria: firstly, an ability to develop students academically, secondly, a willingness to nurture and support cultural competence, finally, in relation to the development of a socio-political or critical consciousness, she argues that culturally relevant teaching is distinguishable by three propositions or conceptions regarding self and other, social relations, and knowledge. Similarly, Mohatt and Erickson (1981) suggest that if teachers use language interaction patterns that approximate the students' home cultural patterns, it is likely to be more successful in improving students' academic performances. Then it is necessary to discuss how the culture of school and school effects are related to student academic achievements.

School Culture and School Effects

The meaning of school 'culture' in this section is different from the above section. The 'culture' in the previous part is associated with international school cultures such as cultural differences between **Asian** and Western teachers. While the meaning of 'culture' of school here is that what individual school creates with each unique location with teachers, students, principles and

school policy such as a high school in Brisbane could have different school culture from a high school in Perth.

It could be argued that there are differences of the culture of schools or school effects on students' academic achievements between the institutions in this study namely University X and University Y, and these differences generate or shape the behaviours of the teachers and the students. All schools are intrinsically different from each other as a consequence of the variety of variables bearing upon them including the uniqueness and individuality of their teachers and students (Burkhardt, 1992). In fact, teachers and students in the classroom are fundamental factors that affect school effects. Cohen (1983) argues that school effectiveness clearly depends on effective classroom teaching. Change in students or teachers can be important factors in student achievement as teachers and students change, the nature and level of school effectiveness also change (Weber, 1971).

Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schwitzer and Wisenbaker (1979) suggest a general model of school social system variables with hypothesised relation to student outcomes in their study. The model shows that the social system of a school not only affects the role definitions, norms, expectations, values, and beliefs that students internalise but also such socialisation affects students' achievement, and their academic self-concepts. Students' behaviours to learn and their achievements appear differently among schools and quality of teachers and students, social structure and school social climate caused this variation among schools. Thus, Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schwitzer and Wisenbaker (1979)

argue that the initial characteristics of teachers and students have more effects on student academic achievement compared to other factors. Teacher expectations of students appear in school effects as an important factor that influences students (Rutter, 1979). Research indicates that teacher expectations for student performance different from school to school (Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schwitzer and Wisenbaker, 1979; Rutter, 1979, 1983). In other words, teacher expectations are the key that make differences in relation to school culture and school effects as teacher expectations are correlated to students' attendance at school as well as academic outcomes. Thus, teachers' positive expectations influence students' positive progress both behaviourally and academically in schools.

Finn (1983) also suggests that teachers in effective schools have developed their own goals, norms, and expectations. As typical features of effective schools, teachers in effective schools tend to spend more their time interacting with the class as a whole than with individual students and their lessons tend to more frequently included periods of quiet work with when teachers expected students to work by themselves (Rutter, 1983). According to Cohen (1983), compared to other schools, effective schools are better managed and their work is more frequently directed toward appropriately limited and shared clear goals.

As Cohen (1983) argues earlier, teachers and their effective classroom teaching are the major factors of effective schools. Investigating student perceptions of teachers as well as teacher expectations and perceptions of their students is the central to understand effective schools (Good and Brophy, 1986). Good and

Brophy (1986) indicate that the value of measuring teacher beliefs, perceptions and decision-making skills related to effective schooling. Because this study focuses on teachers' perceptions and expectations, and students' perceptions and self-concepts that basic factors indicate the nature of effective/ineffective schools, the data in relation to school effectiveness naturally appear in this study, in two research settings. However, effective schools in this study is not treated as a theme and it is not separately discussed in the data analysis.

In short, the review indicates that the cultural difference between teachers and students has become one of the most important features in current schools. Cultural diversity between a teacher and students in the classroom can discourage effective teacher-student interaction and leads to failure and dissatisfaction in classrooms as well as the effects on students' academic achievements. Significant teacher awareness of the cultural differences between teachers and students leads to improved student performance. This thesis investigates the cultural distance between the Korean language teachers and Australian students in University classrooms as one of its research questions.

Korean Culture and Values

Korean teachers who engage in and interact with students in Australian classrooms deal with the culture of school and self-presentations. It follows that their standards and achievement objectives could be different to those of Australian teachers. It is important then to identify aspects of Korean culture that comprise the cultural background of Korean teachers. While it is problematic to identify cultural traits and to show how they might influence

people's behaviours and attitudes, I select some cultural themes that bear on this thesis that feature in the literature and that seem important from my perspective as a Korean.

There are several factors in Korean cultural and historical background that affect behaviour and thinking. MacDonald (1990) suggests that one of these is the traditional Confucian ethic (see Table 3). Another is individualism and there is the influence of western ideas as well, Confucianism is the most significant factor that influences Korean people (Chang and Chang, 1994; MacDonald, 1990; Mon, 1997). It has had a strong influence on Korean culture through history and many aspects of the present Korean values and behaviours are still based on the Confucian ethic (Chang and Chang, 1994; Macdonald, 1990; Mon, 1997). In fact, Confucianism has been most influential in shaping the behavioural patterns and the structure of Korean society from the family to the community. Chang and Chang (1994: 11-12) state that 'Confucianism emphasises a stable society based on loyalty to the state and superior worship'. Moreover, it highlights 'a well disciplined society and ceremony duty and public service',

Confucianism maintains the ideas and practices of hierarchical and lateral relationships that produce order and harmony among members of the society. The Confucian ethic postulates that subordinates should respect and obey their superiors and that superiors should protect their subordinates. Further, harmony amongst men is the supreme goal of traditional Confucian order. Therefore, it

is the duty of all people to obey the ruler's commands, to maintain social order. This pattern of relationships applies and is extended from family to community.

Korea has adopted western influences to transform an agricultural country into a modern industrialised society. As a consequence, today's Korea has discarded some of the traditional Confucian ideals as intellectual baggage, as it is not suitable for people who live a modern, western like life. However, many researchers such as Chang (1982), Chang and Chang (1994), MacDonald (1990), Mon (1997), Park and Cho (1995) have found that the traditional Confucian attitudes continue to influence Korean individual and social behaviour.

There are several studies that make comparison of differences of culture between Korean and other countries. Japanese, Korean, and Korean-American researchers commonly indicate that Koreans have developed a unique behavioural pattern, which is distinguished from patterns of other nations. There are several elements to it. The individualistic behavioural pattern of Korean people is highly related to geo-political and socio-cultural environments in Korea (Chang 1982). According to Chang and Chang (1994), this is due to the fact that Korea is a peripheral phenomenon in a group-oriented society. They indicate that Koreans pursue individualistic behaviours within the context of a group and their individualistic behaviour is different to separate from the group behaviour. As a result, their individualistic behaviour is difficult to separate from the group behaviour. The other factor is that Koreans' individualistic behaviour, like other societies, is also changing over generations

and with the influence of western ideology at globalisation. In the case of Korea, older generations are likely to engage in group activities, while younger generations are involved in individualistic behaviour. Such differences are listed in Table 3.

Korean society is based on hierarchical human relations drawn from Confucianism, including the idea that there is eternally ordained responsibilities for everyone. Thus, in Korean culture, beliefs about hierarchical pattern of relationships reinforce the view that ‘people are superior or inferior to one another but rarely equal’ (MacDonald, 1990: 16).

Table 3. Cultural Differences Between Europe and the USA, and South Korea
(based on Macdonald, 1990: 14).

• Mastery over nature equality of men	• Hierarchy
• Individual dignity and freedom	• Reciprocal duties and responsibilities
• Subordination of all to an impersonal law	• Benevolent personal rule by superior
• Change and progress	• Static, past-oriented order
• Supremacy of rational thought	• Feeling and intuition
• The virtue of struggling for rights	• Acquiescence to superior power

Mon (1997) argues that there is a tendency to identify all social relations by grade. To indicate and identify grades, several criteria are used, such as position in the work place, social position, wealth, physical appearance, etc. People are treated according to their grade in the hierarchical line of social relations, and consequently once vertical relations lines are identified, subordinates tend to

obey superiors while superiors tend to exercise their power over inferiors. Obedience to authority is an apt way to describe Korean society, to this extent, Koreans accept conformity to the hierarchical pattern of relationships as a valuable fact rather than something to be opposed and rejected.

This seems like a paradox, MacDonald (1990: 81) stresses that Confucian ethic coexists with a 'strong, aggressive underlying sense of individual assertiveness and ambition'. As a consequence, people desire wealth, power and social recognition through the network of the Confucian harmony, propriety and obedience. Furthermore such a tenacious drive to accumulate wealth creates unequal social relations in Korea.

Despite the Westernisation of younger generations, Hang (1976), Che (1976), and Lim (1982) also argue that the traditional values, such as 'authoritarianism' and 'familism' group style still exist in current Korean society in family life, workplaces, and even in politics and culture. Traditional authoritarianism still has a significant value especially for family and social relations in workplaces (Mon, 1997).

Korean people prefer the people on their own side rather than dealing with social relations more generally (Kim, 2001; Mon, 1997). For the people on their side 'anything is possible', in contrast to the idea that, for strangers 'nothing is possible'. Commenting on this predisposition, Kim (2001) also indicates that one of the differential behaviours between Westerners and Korean people is that Koreans' behaviours become remarkably different according to whom they are dealing with. For example, when Koreans deal with others who

are related to themselves, such as a graduate from the same school or who come from the same hometown, their behaviours are different from when they deal with strangers. In this way, Koreans tend to alienate themselves from unfamiliar things and strangers. The priorities for loyalty are regional, alumni, and family. Kim (2001) is critical of such behaviours in Korean people, both in Korean society in Korea and Korean communities in Australia. He considers this pattern of behaviour as 'exclusionism' (Kim, 2001: 45).

The concept of the traditional Confucian ethic is closely related to authoritarianism as human relations are viewed basically as hierarchical. Chang (1982: 155) argues that the traditional patterns of social relations, which are based on authoritarianism, are consciously continued by 'the alien regime for the structure transference of the old rule to newly established relations based on status inequalities occasioned by ethnic distinction'. Furthermore, he indicates that the traditional patterns of interaction based on authoritarianism are accepted in modern life because of the lack of an egalitarian model for new relations.

Authoritarianism is found in the organisational setting due to an internal logic of formal organisation. Authoritarianism also appears in non-organisational settings such as interactions between strangers. There is the tendency to enhance the other person's status over and against others by projecting his/her group association. Chang (1982) describes Korean authoritarianism. Thus:

A moral chaos is thus inevitable in the ever widening areas of interaction between strangers in the cities due to the incompatibility of authoritarianism practiced by those who have a vested interest in it and the ideal of egalitarianism pushed forward by those who are put in the lower position (Chang 1982, 155).

It remains for me to identify authoritarianism in Korea and more specifically how it affects general Korean behaviour patterns and native Korean teachers' behaviour in classrooms. Chang (1982) indicates that this authoritarianism contrasts with 'rational' or 'democratic'. The concept of authoritarianism is related to order, instruction, non-adaptability, and inflexibility. A society under the authoritarianism of superiors not only makes arbitrary decisions about important issues, policy, social goals and directions, but also orders, interferes, and forces others in their detail of processing (Chang, 1982).

With socio-economic status, authoritarianism in the classroom is a significant factor in student-teacher interaction and relationships in South Korea. Sorensen (1994: 28) indicates that 'Korean teachers are expected to use their authority...Korean students perceive that their future will be determined by their teacher's recommendation'. Han (1997) points out that in a school setting in Korea, a principal of a school is in charge of making orders and commanding teachers. Such authoritarianism connects teachers and students in the classroom. Korean teachers tend to make an authoritarian education environment by giving orders and instructions to students. As a result, there is a tendency for students who are 'educated' to become authoritarian persons. Students who have authoritarian teachers learn such behaviour from their teachers and lack active ideas and behaviour (Han, 1997). Lee (1996) also criticises the issue of authoritarianism in the Korean classroom, claiming that Korean teachers are unconsciously influenced by 'authoritarianism' as a result of being educated under, and working in an authority oriented education system. Even though teachers believe that they follow democratic ways of teaching, in

actual classrooms they are highly authoritative with their work behaviours by using teacher-centred approaches (Lee, 1996: 32-33).

In summary, this literature review indicates that social interaction creates the condition in which teachers and students develop expectations about each other. Teacher expectations are a powerful factor that affects student perceptions of themselves and their potential academic achievements. Students read the teacher's differential behaviours and expectations toward them and develop self-expectations in the classroom. While the general case is that teachers have expectations and achievement objectives for themselves, their individual students and classes, cultural differences between teachers and student affect the ways in which these expectations are implemented.

It is likely that Korean cultural patterns and the associated school culture will have effects on the ways in which Korean teachers adjust their teaching styles for Australian students. Also, it is likely that Korean language classrooms will be marked by different expectations of students in class and different sets of purposes and goals for education itself. The problem of this thesis can now be recast in interactional terms as: What are the expectations Korean teachers and their students have of each other in tertiary Korean language classrooms? In the next chapter I develop a theoretical framework that provides an explanatory scaffold for this problem and for the data reported in Chapter V. I now turn to that task.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter presents a theoretical framework built on Bernstein's (1975, 1990) pedagogical theory, Hargreaves' (1972, 1975) studies of interpersonal social relations in schools and the theory of symbolic interactionism. The theoretical framework develops a means for understanding teacher-student social relations in Korean language classrooms in Australian universities. More specifically, such theory generates concepts for explaining the relationship between native Korean teacher expectations, Australian student's self-concepts, and academic achievement.

There are two parts to the chapter. Social interactions and pedagogies in Korean language teaching are discussed in the first part. Concepts of students' and teachers' perceptions in classrooms are considered. A view of pedagogy practised by Korean teachers in such classrooms is also discussed to indicate how different cultures mediate teacher-student and student roles. The theory of symbolic interactionism is discussed in the second part.

Social Interactions and Pedagogies

Bernstein (1990) argues that pedagogic practice is a cultural relay. By this he means that classroom life, pedagogy and learning convey cultural messages. He goes on to describe pedagogic practice as a social form with a specific content and suggests that pedagogic practice is governed by three rules, namely,

hierarchy, sequencing and criteria of assessments. These rules provide the building blocks to describe teaching practices. First, the hierarchical rule specifies that a teacher (a transmitter) and a student (an acquirer) learn how to play their role properly. Through the learning process, a transmitter learns to understand what counts as social order, the preferred character traits, and manner for appropriate conduct in pedagogic relations. Second, sequencing rules are those elements in teaching that have to do with the pace of learning, the rate of expected acquisition, or how much a student has to learn in a given amount of time. Third, by 'criteria', the acquirer understands the style of communication in particular situations that confirms the social relations or position of the teacher and the student. The learner knows to apply these rules to their own practices as well as to those of others. Thus, social interaction is based on what are called 'positional' and 'personal' relations. Criteria rules are important in the teaching relation because they contribute to the evaluation of the competence of the acquirer on the part of the teacher.

The three rules can specify possibilities because they generate modalities of pedagogic practice. That is, the rules can be either explicit or implicit in pedagogic practice. Depending on whether pedagogy is implicit or explicit, the social relations between teacher and student are structured differently. This is because implicit-ness and explicit-ness directly affect the manner of the transmission. For example, when hierarchical rules are explicit, the power relations in the relationship are clear to both the student and the teacher. However, when the hierarchy is implicit, it is more difficult to distinguish the teacher. Thus, an implicit hierarchy is closely related to relationships where

power is covered or hidden by devices of communication. It follows that in implicit hierarchy, the teacher acts directly on the context of acquisition, but indirectly on the acquirer. In an explicit hierarchy, the order is reversed.

In Asian societies, it is generally the case that hierarchical rules in general are highly explicit. I have already discussed the view that Korean culture, including schooling, is hierarchical and exclusive. People have unambiguous notions of their social position as well as that of others. It follows then that in Korean language classes in Australian universities, hierarchical rules can be strongly explicit rather than implicit. This is because the native Korean teachers' notion of social position about teacher and student is already clearly structured through education and experiences in Korean, culture and society. However, it is also possible that hierarchical rules in Korean classes can be more implicit as Korean teachers become westernised in Australia and adopt western types of social position associated with teacher and student,

Sequencing rules also can be explicit or implicit. In the case of explicit sequencing rules, the students are aware of temporal projects such as syllabuses and curricula. In the case of implicit sequencing rules, only the teacher is aware of the situation. In short, one modality lays out the learning agenda so that the students can understand it holistically. The other hides the agenda so that only the teacher knows what follows and what is valued.

Bernstein argues that learning theories commonly used in education to explain learning are generated by the rules. Bernstein (1990) sets out the assumptions

that lie behind the five theories. These are of central importance to this thesis because Bernstein's discussion parallels and paraphrases theories of learning that are commonly cited in language learning discussions. The assumptions behind each of the theories are as follows.

First, almost all learning theories are developmental stage theories. Thus, acquisition has meaning only to a particular stage. Second, all of these theories are based on the learner who is active in his/her own acquisition. Third, in every one of these theories, the learner's acquisition cannot be quickly modified by explicit public regulation. This is because learning is deemed to be a tacit, invisible act. Fourth, the institutional and cultural biography of the learner is excluded in every one of these theories. Fifth, these theories are critical of the transmitter as an imposer of meaning. Because learning is a tacit invisible act in all of these theories domination is replaced by facilitation, imposition by accommodation (Bernstein, 1990).

As mentioned earlier, the discussion of theories of learning by Bernstein is an important component of this thesis. Linguistic language teaching models tend to ignore much of what Bernstein identifies as sequencing rules, which can influence student performances. If Bernstein is correct in his assumptions, learning theories imply an implicit hierarchy in the classroom. Implicit hierarchy is related to a 'theory of reading' in which the learner is a 'text', and the teacher 'reads' the student because they know the theory. The signs that are 'read' have meaning only to the teacher and the learner is not aware of the

meaning of his or her own signs. The reading rules are complex theories that only the teacher understands.

These concepts of Bernstein are particularly important for understanding the native Korean teacher in Australian classrooms and what counts as preferable behaviour or satisfactory performance. Given the symbolic interactionist assumptions of this thesis, it can be surmised that like any teacher, the native Korean teacher evaluates students and categorises them, but the students are probably unaware of the implicit criteria being used. In Bernstein's terms and Korean teachers have different cultural backgrounds from most of the students, it seems likely that the implicit rules of the native Korean teacher are associated with a Korean culture of teaching, rather than with Australian cultures. Moreover, following Bernstein, implicit sequencing rules used by native Korean teachers are likely to have different effects on different students according to their cultural backgrounds. Consequently, these rules may affect a teacher's perceptions and establish different expectations of the students' performances. While Korean background students may understand some of this, it is likely that Australian students never become knowledgeable about the meaning of important signs in Korean classes. Again, if the symbolic interactionist metric and Bernstein's theory is correct, many Koreans will not know these either.

In the case of explicit and specific criteria, students are aware of the criteria and the teacher assists the students by providing the missing part in the product so students can improve their performances. Conversely, in the case of implicit

criteria, students become dependent on the teacher as he or she is unaware of the detail of criteria. Bernstein (1990) describes implicit criteria thus:

...this pedagogic practice creates a space in which the acquirer can create his/her text under conditions of apparently minimum external constraint and in a context and social relationship which appears highly supportive of the 'spontaneous' text the acquirer offers (Bernstein, 1990: 70).

These details of rules and modalities are precursors to the identification of two types of pedagogy. Explicit and implicit explicit hierarchical sequencing and criteria define two types of pedagogic practice, the visible and the invisible. These are powerful sensitising and explanatory concepts because they provide an understanding of how instructional settings operate, irrespective of the cultural background of either teacher or students. In addition, they provide a translation of the culture concept into pedagogical settings so that the 'local' is attached to macro-sociological dynamics. Finally, the model provides the conceptual tools to chart interactional work on the part of participants.

Theory of Visible and Invisible Pedagogies

Bernstein (1990) proposes that a visible pedagogy can appear with many different modalities and mainly emphasises the performance of the student. In a visible pedagogy, the student is evaluated and graded according to criteria and measurement procedures. Where the pedagogy is visible, the teacher, the students and the parents of the student all share the understanding of the student's position in class through his or her grades. This pedagogy is largely based on a profile of the grading of specific competencies in learning as well as grading of the students' motivation and work attitudes. Because a visible pedagogy reflects an explicit hierarchy, sequencing and criteria rules, social

position in class between teacher and student takes an important role. Visible pedagogies are not necessarily 'authoritarian' but they are highly positional (Bernstein, 1990: 83).

As the data presented in Chapter V shows, much of Korean language teaching observed in this study can be defined as visible pedagogy. Students know what they are expected to do. In addition, students have a understanding of the curriculum and its relationship to status in the classroom. When they perform 'correctly', such as answering questions without making mistakes, students are praised and when they perform incorrectly the teacher informs them about mistakes and corrects them. In this sense, students are explicitly aware of meanings in class sessions and know that they are being compared with others in the class.

Invisible pedagogies are less concerned with producing differences between acquirers or graded performances of the acquirer. Instead, invisible pedagogy focuses on procedures internal to the acquirer such as cognitive, linguistic, affective and motivational factors. Invisible pedagogies are based on the progression of an individual person, rather than a group and differences between learners reveal uniqueness rather than a qualitative comparison between acquirers. Thus, visible pedagogies emphasise an external text for grading and performance, while invisible pedagogies emphasise the procedures and competencies that acquirers display in the pedagogic context. Therefore, the evaluation procedures in invisible pedagogies are subject to what the teacher can glean from 'reading' the tacit social relationship factors he or she has with

students. The main elements of invisible pedagogy in the classroom are shown in the following list.

1. Control by the teacher over the student is implicit rather than explicit
2. Ideally the teacher arranges the context which the student expect to re-arrange and explore
3. Within this arranged context, the student apparently has wide powers over what he/she selects, over how he/she structures and over the time-scale of activities
4. The student apparently regulates his/her own movements and social relationships
5. There is a reduced emphasis upon the transmission and acquisition of specific skills
6. The criteria for evaluating the pedagogy are multiple and diffuse and so are not easily measured (Bernstein, 1975: 35).

Bernstein (1975) indicates that invisible pedagogies transform the privatised social structures and cultural contexts of visible pedagogies into a personalised social structure and personalised cultural contexts. Because of this character of invisible pedagogies, the power of the teacher as an evaluator is increased. Social control in invisible pedagogies is invisible but social regulation does take place in the classroom. The teachers who manage invisible means of transmission are furnished with powerful ways of defining reality and manipulating the consequences of such reality construction (Bernstein, 1990). Interactional patterns in the classroom are the basis on which these social dynamics work.

For example, it could be hypothesised that in Korean classes, students who have one or more Korean parents or a native Korean spouse are expected to perform better by Korean teachers than other students with different backgrounds. In short, Korean teachers may categorise all students according to their potential success, but the students are unaware of the teachers' evaluation. Moreover,

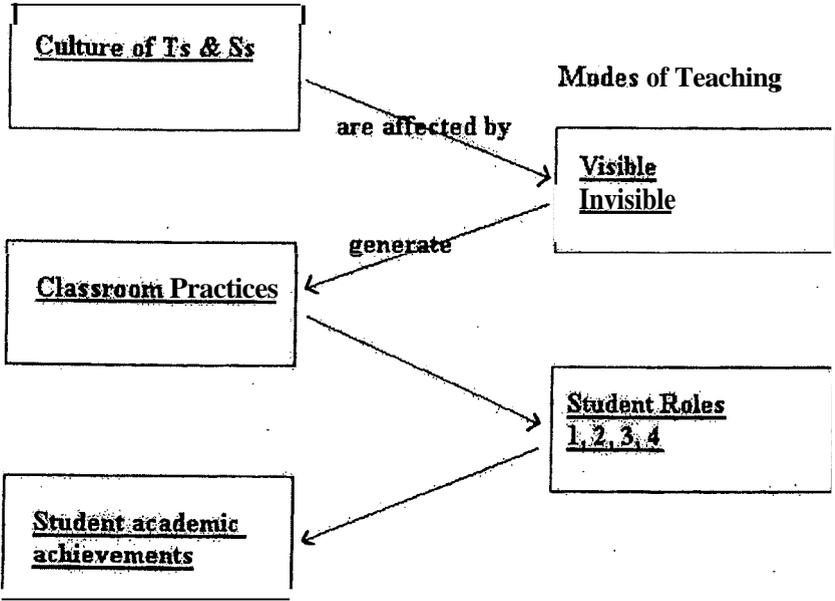
social interaction theory suggests, the teacher's behaviours and expectations toward students are directly affected by such evaluations. Some students perceive that there are both an overt and a covert form of Korean language transmission in the classroom, but they may not comprehend the criteria that evaluate a student's national background, or current performance and capability.

Because schools cannot on their own solve the problem of learning for all learners, teachers tend to select the potential students that they think will succeed (Young, 1998). This is because pedagogies, together with teaching and learning, are most successful with those whom teachers do not have to teach how to learn. Such students, whom teachers do not have to teach how to learn, develop their learning skills and habits usually in the home (Bourdieu, 1994). It can be extrapolated then, that native Korean teachers may base their concept of potentially successful students on the Korean background of students. The Korean background students or the students with a Korean spouse are those who can acquire the knowledge of Korean language skills in the home. Thus, those who are in this advantageous situation of learning Korean language are provided with more chances to have the skills and motivation to continue learning after they have finished the Korean language course compared to other students. Students may be differentially positioned in the invisible pedagogical concept of the Korean teacher and the teacher consideration of an individual student's background to distinguish the potentially successful students from others.

Bernstein (1975) suggests that although invisible pedagogies may appear to be visible pedagogies, they cannot lead to the same outcomes as visible pedagogies. This is because visible and invisible modalities affect what is formed and how it is formed. Both visible and invisible pedagogies regulate valued property as well as mental structures.

Using Bernstein’s framework of invisible pedagogy, it can be proposed that in Korean language classes, Korean background students or Asian background students are more likely to see through the invisible pedagogy of Korean teachers because they share a similar background and a similar way of thinking. Figure2 shows that the nature of cultural difference in interaction patterns.

Figure 2. Pedagogic Relationships in the Korean Language Classrooms



Australian students are less likely to have the same degree of insight. That is Korean background and Asian students try to reach the teachers hidden curriculum with different approaches. Furthermore, in the context it could be summarised that the attention of the student is focused on the teacher with visible pedagogies, while in invisible pedagogies the attention of the teacher is focused on the individual student (Bernstein, 1975). This makes the nature of cultural difference even more important in the understanding of interaction patterns. These relationships are shown in Figure 2.

Bernstein (1975, 1990) proposes two additional concepts that could further provide insights into how types of pedagogies affect classroom relationships. These are the concepts of classification and framing.

Classification refers to the degree of insulation between contents such as subjects or courses. Where classification is strong or weak there are distinctively strong, or weak boundaries between contents, such as forms of communication and information. It explicitly points to power and control components because strong classification produces a strong sense of membership in a particular class as well as specific identity. Strong classification also reduces the power of the teacher over what is transmitted. This is a heuristic concept because in the Korean language classroom, the curriculum is highly regulated with respect to selection, sequence, pace and acquisition skills.

With the process of selection and organisation of classification, frame is important in the development of the structure of social relations. Frame refers to the degree of power and control teachers and students possess in the selection, organisation and pacing of knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogic relationship (Bernstein, 1974). Framing can appear to be too strong or weak in the classroom.

According to the type of framing, the patterns of relationship between teacher and students are changed dramatically. Where framing is strong, the teacher controls the selection, organisation, pacing, criteria of communication and the position, posture and dress of the communicants, together with the arrangement of the physical location. Conversely, where framing is weak, the student has more control over these elements (Bernstein, 1990). Depending on whether framing is strong or weak, there are sharp or blurred boundaries between what may and may not be transmitted and received in the context of the pedagogical relationships.

Language classrooms tend to have strong framing compared to other subjects like sociology (Park, Kang and Jang, 1997). In language classes, generally, teachers control the interaction between teacher and students, and students with students, as well as dealing with selection and organisation. Using Bernstein's framework of invisible pedagogy, it can be proposed that in Korean language classes, framing is also apparently strong. The Korean language teachers are likely to control the selection, organisation, pacing, and criteria of communication. Moreover, the knowledge base and competency of native

Korean speaking teachers makes students highly dependent on teachers not only for language (such as pronunciation, grammar, sentence structure, and vocabulary) but also the cultural knowledge of Korea. Consequently, strong framing in Korean classes not only reduces the power of the student over what, when and how he or she receives knowledge, but also increases the teacher's power in the pedagogical relationship. Thus, as Cortazzi and Jin (1996) suggest:

Much behaviour in language classrooms is set within taken-for-granted frameworks of expectation, attitudes, values, and beliefs about what constitutes good learning, about how to teach or learn, whether and how to ask questions, what textbooks are for, and how language teaching relates to broader issues of the motive and purpose of education (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996: 169)

Taken together, the concepts of classification and framing define social relations in teaching and learning contexts (Bernstein, 1990). Pedagogic practices and the social relations they generate regulate communication. Thus, social relations organise the forms of the pedagogic practice as well as the specific messages. Forms of communication between teachers and students are regulated by hierarchical and discursive rules. Power relations of communication within the classroom between teachers and students and the forms of control teachers and students have in pedagogic contexts form social relationships. In turn, these regulate the selection, organization sequencing, criteria, and pacing of communication together with the position, posture, and dress of the communicants and the space in which they are the constituted (Bernstein, 1990).

Having established principles for understanding pedagogy, I now turn to the task of developing an interactive context for their use. To do this, I establish relationships between context, self and meaningful action.

Symbolic Interactionism and Classrooms

Elliott (2001), Rousseau (2002) and Stryker (1980) report that the pivotal principles of reciprocal effects between self and social interaction are developed by theoretical accounts of symbolic interaction. Symbolic interaction theory relies on the concept of object to portray the way in which people perceive and act upon their environment which is considered as a world of objects (Mead, 1934).

Blumer (1969) defines symbol as meaning. He considers meanings in symbolic interactionism as social products, as creations that are involved with the defining activities of people as they interact. Symbols make three contributions to the human being: they are human social reality, they form the basis for human social life, and they are central to what it means to be human. In the case of symbols in individual life, people use significant symbols, especially language and communication with others. The main concept of symbolic interaction appropriate to this thesis is the 'definition of the situation'.

Situations, events, and context are interpreted through individual 'sense-making' processes (Pushkala, 1993). According to this perspective, human beings hold images of themselves that are shaped by meaningful social

interaction. These self-images influence not only how people assign meaning but also how they eventually engage in meaningful interaction with others.

Symbolic interaction focuses on covert behaviour from the participant's point of view in order to understand the processes of meaningful interaction with others. Blumer (1969: 53) states that 'it is necessary to view the given sphere of life under study as a moving process in which the participants are defining and interpreting each other's acts'. It is important to understand how the process of designation and interpretation sustains, undercuts, redirects, and transforms the ways in which the participants fit their lines of action together. Moreover, the main message of symbolic interaction is that different experiences of individuals mediate their own interpretations of experience. These interpretations are created by individuals through interaction with others and used by individuals to achieve specific goals (Jacob, 1987).

Blumer (1969: 78-79) defines symbolic interaction as 'the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings'. Thus, human beings interpret or define each other's actions by meanings. Their response is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions instead directly react to the actions of one another. Symbolic interactionism is concerned how individuals are able to assume other people's perspectives to learn the meanings behind the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions in interactions between people (Potter 1996).

Symbolic interactionism sees that behaviours of people are influenced by the meanings human describe to objects and situations when they are in interactions with others. Thus, Blumer (1969) considers 'meaning' not only arising in the process of interaction between people but also those are social products that are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact. In short, human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. The meaning of such thing is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellow and then these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he/she encounters (Blumer, 1969: 2). In classroom cases, students in a given situation develop common definitions or share perspectives by the result of regular interaction and share experiences. Internal of students drives such as personal traits, role, cultural prescriptions or environments are useful to understand and predict behaviour (Elliott, 2001). Further more, those internal drives are relevant to understanding behaviour only to the degree that they enter in and affect the defining process, for example, how the students in the Korean classroom define the Korean teacher expectations of students and how the self concept of the students are influenced by their such interpretations in social settings of the classroom.

There are five core concepts in symbolic interaction: the self, the act, social interaction, objects and joint action (Mead, 1938; Blumer, 1969). I briefly outline each before applying them to the classroom setting. First, the self is a product of the reflexive mind of a person arising from the social experience of interacting with others. Thus the self is the definition people create about

themselves through interacting with others (Blumer 1969; Hargreaves, 1972). Each human is mentally capable of constructing a symbol of themselves with which to identify and rehearse the positive and negative reactions of others to their potential actions.

Second, the act is an elementary unit of conduct self-directed or built up in coping with other people and it appears differently as a result of being formed through a process of self-interaction (Mead, 1938; Blumer, 1969). What individual person takes into account in action is based on the factors that he or she indicates to himself or herself such as feelings, goals, the actions of others, the expectations and demands of others, the rules of group, situation, conceptions, recollections, and images of prospective lines of conduct (Blumer, 1969).

Third, social interaction is based on the two processes of interpretation and definition. New meanings are created in interactions between people, who for reasons of personal socialisation, bring into shared situations contrary ideas, which are debated until a sharing of a new stock of knowledge develops (Blumer, 1969). Social interaction of students with teachers is a process of defining to others what to do and interpreting their definitions. Through this process students come to understand and fit their activities in social settings with their teachers and to form their own individual conduct. As meanings that arise between teachers and students come to be formed, learned, and transmitted through a process of social indication, teacher expectations of students is considered as meanings that arise between teachers and students in a

pedagogical process of social interactions. While there are positions and roles to be learned in social settings, the expectations for behaviour are sufficiently flexible in a process of social interaction (Goodman, 1985).

Fourth, an object is constituted by the meaning it has for the person or persons for whom it is an object and arises from how the person is initially prepared to act toward it (Blumer, 1969). Objects are social products formed and transformed by the defining process that takes place in social interaction. People are not permanently locked to their objects thus they are able to check action toward objects and create new lines of conduct toward them.

Fifth, joint action, or social act, represents the fundamental unit of society. In order to act socially, people fit their acts together by identifying the situation in which they are engaged and they interpret and define each other's acts in forming the social act. This is the reason why society has a significant meaning in symbolic interactionism. The capacity of humans to interact with other is seen as the centre of the theory. Society consists of two major concepts, which are culture and social structure (Blumer, 1969). The concept of culture defines what people do such as custom, tradition, norm, value, and rules. On the other hand, social structure is based on social position, status, role, authority and prestige, refers to relationships derived from how people act toward each other. Social interaction is a process that forms human conduct rather than setting for the expression or release of human conduct.

Sixth, roles and role taking are central to in symbolic interactionism. Symbolic communication can only occur between individuals who are capable to 'taking the role of the other'. Thus, a person acquires 'a self by putting him/herself in the other's position and by using their perspective of the other to consider him/herself. A self develops only when a person begins to 'take the role of the other' when a person takes to himherself the attitudes that others take to them (Mead, 1967). To define self, people attempt to see themselves as others see them by interpreting gestures and actions directed toward them and by placing themselves in the role of the other person (Blumer, 1969; Bogdan, 1992; Goodman 1985; Mead, 1934).

In classrooms, students understand their roles in interactions with teachers by placing themselves in the position of the teachers and viewing themselves or acting toward themselves from that position. The students see themselves through the way in which teachers or other fellow students see or define them. Since people are unable to see themselves directly, they do so through the mirror of the responses of others to them (Cooley, 1964). This self-object occurs from the process of social interaction in which other people are defining a person to himherself. When two individuals know each other in particular situations the more likely they are to empathise with one another in that situation.

In classroom situations, individual students develop their own 'self-concept' and it is the result of a social construction and interaction with teachers that students come to perceive themselves and to develop their react to teachers. Thus, it is proposed that students see themselves, in part, as teachers and fellow

students see them. The assumption is that teacher expectations toward students directly influence students' self-concept, perceptions about their learning abilities, learning achievements and their social relations with teachers. A student's own self-concept may be different from teachers' perceptions and it can be transactional in its nature.

If the 'self' is a social product, a product of a person's interaction with others, then it allows people to perceive, think, categorise, create, describe, transform, and evaluate themselves as well as others (Charon, 1998). This definition of the self is a gloss of 'culture' defined as standards for perceiving, judging, acting and predicting. Thus behaviour in social interaction is developed from a capacity to take other people's attitudes to anticipate and predict the other's reaction. Thus;

We become what others want and expect us to be by making their views and their rules and their ways our views, rules, and ways. More than this, we can soon come to see our views, rules, and ways as the only and the right ones (Hargreaves, 1978:9).

In this way, visible and invisible pedagogies and the rules that underlie pedagogical works are the constitutive elements of self-management and social life in classrooms. It follows that students' self-perceptions are strongly influenced and shaped by teachers and other students in class, together with the stock of knowledge that they bring with them from previous experience. It seems likely that native Korean teachers' perceptions of students, such as of their capacity to perform, are read by students and in doing the reading and interpretation, a student's self-perceptions are increased. During social interaction in class, a student's behaviour is influenced not only by the acts of

the teacher, but also by the intentions and motives that the student assigns to the teacher's acts. On their part, teachers evaluate the learner differentially on the basis of scholastic performance, while parents or peers support (or do not support) the learner emotionally regardless of achievement (Hargreaves, 1972, 1975).

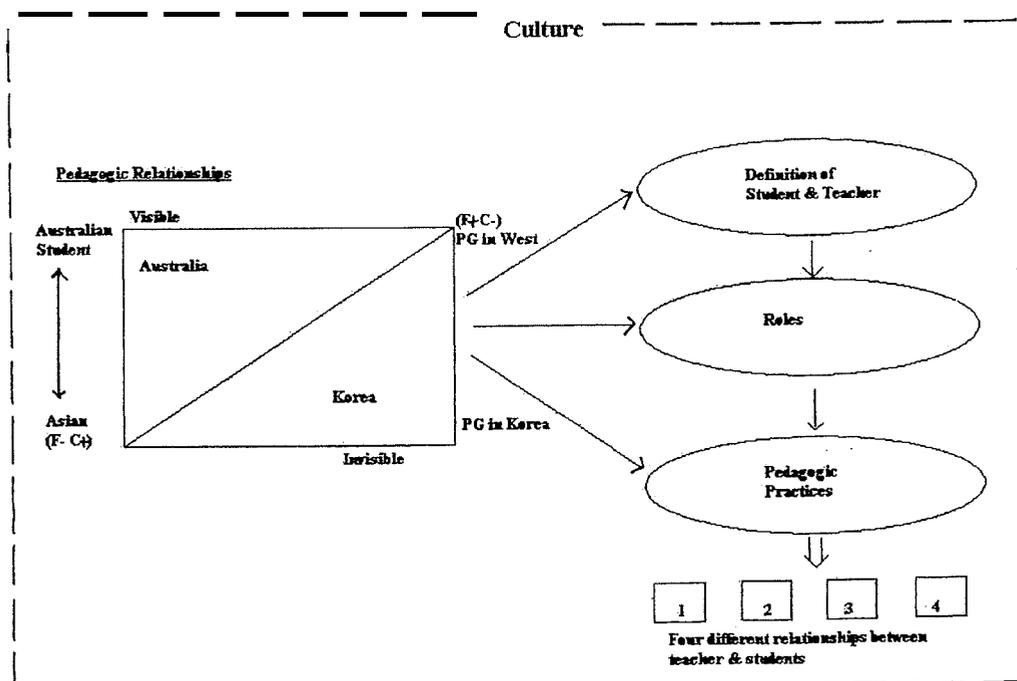
Nash (1976) proposes a three-factor model that effectively summarizes this discussion. First, fellow students in a classroom affect students' perceptions of their ability. Second, students are affected by expectations by their teacher. Third, the extent to which students' academic achievements are supported by their parents or peers or other significant others affects self-concepts. Teacher expectations Nash proposes generally go through the following processes: the teacher collects available information on the student and forms individual expectations of them; these expectations lead to systematic differences in teacher behaviour such as input, output, feedback and climate; these differences are noticed and responded to by the student who matches behaviours to the teacher's original expectations.

Hargreaves' (1972: 18) set of predictions further explicates these themes:

- (a) High ability + high motivation = high attainment.
This student has ability and works hard to achieve a high standard.
- (b) Low ability + low motivation = low attainment.
This student finds this subject difficult and makes little effort. His/her standard is poor.
- (c) High ability + low motivation = moderate attainment.
He/She has ability but does not work hard enough to achieve the standard of which he/she is capable.
- (d) Low ability + high motivation = moderate attainment.
Although he/she finds the subject difficult he/she has worked and has achieved a fair standard of work.

Against the background of the previous discussion, it can be appreciated that terms such as ‘ability’, ‘motivation’ and ‘attainment’ are the social effects of perceptions developed in classroom interaction as well as objective states. Thus, a ‘good’ student is one who has a high ability and high motivation. According to how the teacher perceives and categorises a student, different kinds of relationships are established between the teacher and the student and between the student and his or her fellow students. In this way, students can be differentiated by teachers as academic or cognitive, on the basis of perceived ability, motivation and attainment. Evaluations of these kinds are precisely the ground of Bernstein’s visible and invisible pedagogies. These constructs are drawn together in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Different Concepts of Self-Understanding Between Native Korean Teachers and Students in Korean foreign Language Classrooms in Australia.



1. F= Framing, C= Classification, P= Pedagogy, and visible and invisible pedagogy are based on Bernstein' theory (see Chapter II and 111)
2. Four different relationships between teacher and students is based on Hargreaves' theory (see Chapter II and 111)

The thesis problem is now restated in theoretical prepositional terms, thus:
visible and invisible interaction patterns in Korean language classes are identifiable and create the condition under which there are differential outcomes for different categories of students.

In the next chapter IV discuss the methodology used in the empirical study.
Research settings and participants of this study are also discussed.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This chapter justifies and outlines the methodological approach used to investigate the pedagogical practices of teachers and students in tertiary Korean language classroom settings. The chapter is structured into two parts. The first part offers a justification of the symbolic interactionist methodological approach used in this study, including a quantitative survey. The second part explains how the data were gathered and analysed.

Justification of Symbolic Interactionism

This study is concerned to assess social interaction patterns between teachers and students in Korean foreign language classrooms of two universities in Austrah. This study is also concerned with the effects cultural differences in pedagogies that Korean teachers bring into the Australian tertiary classroom. Thus, this study focuses on social and cultural context of pedagogies in tertiary Korean language classrooms. For this study, both qualitative, symbolic interactionism, and quantitative, survey, methods are selected.

Data on the social interaction patterns that are based on perceptions and expectations between teacher and students in the classroom were gathered through methods proposed by symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionists view

social interaction as an unfolding process in which the individual interprets his/her environments and acts on the basis of that interpretation. As a qualitative research method, symbolic interactionism is based on 'the assumption that an inner understanding enables the comprehension of human behaviours in greater depth than is possible from the study of surface behaviour, from paper and pencil tests and from standardised interviews' (Burden, 1982: 11). It is an umbrella term for various philosophical orientations to interpretive research and developed from research traditions in anthropology and sociology concerned with studying human behaviour that occurs naturally (Schostak, 2002; Seliger and Shohamy, 1990; Wolcott, 2001). The idea of *verstehen*, an understanding of the meaning that people ascribe to their social situation and activities, is an important presupposition in qualitative approaches (Jankowski and Wester, 1991). In this tradition, it is held that people act on the basis of the meaning they attribute to themselves and on everyday life as being significant if it is perceived to be by the participants (Flick, 2002, Jankowski and Wester 1991). It will be recalled that these assumptions lie at the heart of social interaction theory in symbolic interactionism as well.

In education, the relationship between knowledge and human interests, a form of subjective understanding, is a mainstream research focus. In current educational research, the qualitative researcher attempts to collect data that reflect the multiple realities of specific educational settings from the informants' perspectives (Burns, 1997, ~~Byrne~~ Armstrong, Higgs and Horsfall, 2001; Silverman, 2000). Typically, this means investigating individual student and teacher subjective interpretations,

self-concepts, their individual perspectives, beliefs and behaviours, and how these elements affect interactions and social relations in classrooms. Moreover, Phillips (1995) points out that:

The recent trend in educational research has been to move away from the mechanics of teaching, teaching methods, and behavioural analyses to a more holistic and interactive type of analysis of the setting (Phillips, 1995: 11).

Thus, in selecting methodological tools, I needed to focus on techniques that tap into meaning construction and interpretation in the social settings of the tertiary Korean language classrooms and how teachers and students make sense out of what happens there. Symbolic interaction theory is attractive because its presuppositions fit the classroom and school settings where students and teachers adjust, evaluate, think, act and change (Cohen and Manion, 1989; Elliott, 2001; Rousseau, 2002). In turn, symbolic interactionist researchers develop theories and propositions from the data they collect as the research develops, instead of searching for data that will support or prove a hypothesis. Thus, the ultimate goal of symbolic interactionism is to discover or understand some phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them in social settings and my study is an exemplar of this kind of intention. This mode of research permits interrogation of theory discussed in Chapter III and leaves open the possibility of identifying new points of departure. It was expected that the expectations and perceptions of teachers and students in the Korean language classroom would indicate the extent to which interaction patterns provided evidence of invisible or visible pedagogies.

Symbolic interactionism requires that researchers interpret what people do from the actor's point of view. Along with the interaction between teacher and students, classroom observations and interviews also allowed me to understand 'process as well as product' in Korean language classrooms. I was interested in how things occur between teacher and students; how they interact with each other; how students seemed to be affected by their teachers' behaviours and comments; how students translated their teachers' actions toward them; and how teachers translate their students' action in classrooms. Having participant observations in the classroom in this study provided me with a direct source of data and brought me an inside actor's view of Korean classrooms.

Social settings have multiple dimensions to them. Potter (1996) discusses the importance of comparing accounts of different segments of a social setting to determine if accounts check out against each other. He goes on that 'when researchers conduct with-method triangulation, they are examining reliability of the data gained through that method by cross-checking observations for internal consistency' (Potter, 1996: 198). Triangulation is a part defense against the charge of 'subjectivity' (Lindlof and Meyer, 1987) and is widely recommended by qualitative theoreticians (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994, 1995; Flick, 2002; Fraenkel and Wallen, 1993; Gay, 1987; Gail, 1985; Glesne and Peshkin, 1992; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Hollyday, 2002; Hollyway, 2000; Hornberger, 1994, 1996; Jankowski and Wester, 1991; Lindolf and Meyer, 1987; Lofland and Lofland, 1984; Morse, Swanson and Kuzel, 2001; Potter, 1996; Schostak, 2002;

Sevigny, 1981; Sherman and Webb, 1988; Silverman, 1985, 1993, 2000; Wallen and Fraenkel, 1991; Wolcott, 2001; Woods, 1986; Yates, 1986). Triangulation was initiated in this study by collecting data from different sources and by comparing and contrasting each source. Furthermore, following Lull (1985), I constantly checked data that I had already obtained from other informants through follow-up interviews.

Silverman (1993, 2000) argues that there are issues of reliability concerned with the categories a researcher uses to analyse each data. He proposes that categories need to be used in a standardised way across all **data** texts. Taking Silverman's advice, I used two different levels of categories, namely research literature theoretical categories and those of informants. The former is the source of the high, low, positive and negative expectation categories as well **as** student self-concept of academic ability. These concepts have been positioned in the education field and investigated for over three decades (Braun, 1976, 1980; Brophy and Good, 1970; Good and Brophy, 1972, 1974, 1984, 1986, 1997, 2000, 2002; **Finn**, 1972; Hargreaves, 1972, 1975; Rist 1970). Similarly, I used concepts of 'culture', 'Australian', 'Asian' and 'Korean' to establish cultural differences between students and teachers. These categorisations of cultural differences are widely used in the research literature in relation to cultural diversity and cultural differences, as I discussed in Chapter II.

In addition, it should be noted that the natural research settings were used in this study because 'in natural settings data are open for researchers to interpret and usually are not collected within a closed set of analytical categories' (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994: 69). Investigating people in their natural surroundings in order to understand things from an actor's perspectives provides an even deeper understanding of what they believe, how they perceive, how they interpret and how they behave (Flick, 2002; Fraenkel and Wallen, 1993). The Korean language classroom settings for this study are natural settings rather than planned or set up artificially. The participants, teachers and students in the classes, are there of their own will to teach or to learn Korean. This type of setting is called as an 'ongoing' setting and generally occurs in communities, educational institutions, and classrooms where events of human interaction take place. Schostak (2002) and Shimahara (1988) also indicates that these settings are characterised as 'natural' in the sense that they are not contrived or modified by the observer although a researcher must always have an effect on each settings. While researchers have an effect on such settings, the collected data have validity at both the 'classroom' and the 'participant' levels. I was in everyday classroom life of participants and observed emergent patterns throughout the intense periods of field research in the locations. I experienced the reality that events in natural research settings 'cannot be isolated from the context in which it originates, for to do so will destroy the full meaning of experience' (Shimahara, 1988: 50). As Fetterman (1989) claims focusing on behaviours and meaning in context and the interrelationships among the various university systems and social subsystems in the classes and programs

that under studied became obvious that the casual observer would miss much of meaning in these situations. Thus, what Korean language learners say and the way they behave in specific contexts with their teachers provides a way of making sense of what is going on in Korean language classrooms.

Research Processing

Emphasis on the meanings and interpretations of actors within symbolic interactionism has tended to imply a need for participant observation and open-ended interview. I observed and interviewed students and teachers as individuals as well as groups in order to investigate their process of interpretation that influence the subsequent behaviour of students and teachers in classroom situations. This is because individual students/teachers' experiences are mediated by their own interpretations of experience and these interpretations are created by individuals through interaction with others and used by individuals to achieve specific goals, qualitative researchers are interested in individual experiences and perceptions (Jacob, 1987).

For this study, I used observation intensively, both as a sensitising tool when I was new to the classroom setting and as a means for checking and listing events and patterns. Observation then was a fundamental research technique in all of the settings, although during most of the research period, participant observation techniques were used to collect data. I observed language classrooms at University Y in 1998 and University X in 1999 for 6 weeks at each site (I returned to

University Y in 1999, and spent one week at University Y in September 1999 to collect additional data). Classroom observations included from first year to third year Korean language classrooms at University X and Y. At each setting, I introduced myself to the students as a researcher undertaking a Ph.D study. I attended classrooms and sat with the students for almost every lesson. At University Y, second and third year students had a lesson at the same day and time so that consequently, I had to choose a class for observation in that case. Every student at each university in this study knew that I was there to observe and to interview. As mentioned previously, this study is based on naturalistic observation. I spent most of my time observing and recording what happened as things occurred during interactions between students and teachers in the classroom. During these observations, I took notes verbal and nonverbal on teacher-student interaction. Note taking and field notes played an important part during the observation at University X and Y.

I took two main roles in research settings for this study. One was as the non-participant observer in grammar lessons. In the speaking and vocabulary lessons, however, I became a participant observer. In the latter case, I answered teachers' questions, joined speaking and listening activities with students or communicated with students in Korean or English. My goal was to make the familiar strange and strange familiar to learn from the participants. Being a participant observer allowed me to follow these participants through their daily round of life, seeing what they did, when, with whom, under what circumstances, and querying them

about the meaning of their actions. I found many opportunities to have coffee or meals together. One of the major advantages of observation, compared to experiments and survey, is being able to collect non-verbal behaviour in classroom settings as I was able to discern ongoing behaviour and to make appropriate notes about its salient features (Cohen and Manion, 1994).

In taking notes on the classes observed, my focus was particularly on the type of interaction teacher and students created. For example, I checked if a teacher talks to a particular student during the lessons or break times, and the type of interaction. I focused on the teachers' behaviours, the way they dealt with each of the students. Because the number of students was small (from 3 to 14 students in each classroom), it was not difficult to observe how the teachers spent time with each student. At the same time, I also observed each of the students' behaviours towards the Korean teachers and their response to the teachers' behaviours towards them. Note taking was completed in the classrooms, and then summaries were made immediately after each observation was finished. In my analysis of field, I identified specific categories and issues which appear as significant points of contrast or common interest between the participants.

As Werner and Schoepfle (1987) state, interviewing is the *sine qua non* of qualitative research. Without it, there is no reliable means for an observer to define the situation used by informants. In fact, Hollyway and Jefferson (2000) points out that interviewing is the most important data collection technique in qualitative

research. As well as observations, interviews were used as a main research technique for this study to provide ‘a sense of reality describing exactly what the informant feels, perceives, and how they behave’ (Burns, 1997: 329). A large part of research dealt with students’ and teachers’ perceptions, feelings and thoughts. The concept of academic ability, for example, is central to this study in measured by either self-concept-perceptions of self as student, or student perception of self-reliance (Good and Brophy, 2000, 2002). Consequently, interviewing was an important way of finding out what the perspectives of people were, and for collecting information on issues or events that important to students and teachers. It also reflected ‘make things happen’ and to stimulate the flow of data (Woods, 1986). Accordingly, I used interviewing intensively when interacting with students and staff in the research settings. The interview questions for the teachers and students appear in Appendix D.

The teachers and students in the Korean language classrooms in this study were interviewed before and after class about their perceptions, expectations and classroom interactions in Australia. The interviewing process was aimed at three outcomes. First, the background characteristics of students were identified. This information included nationality; parents’ nationalities; place students grew up; experiences of foreign language learning in high school and university; overseas language learning experiences; age; study major at university; motivation for learning Korean language; involvement with native Korean people in life such as if they have native Korean as friends or family member(s). These background

questions were asked in a natural atmosphere, generally before or after interviews in settings such as the cafeteria at universities. For the interviews with students, I selected a cafeteria on campus rather than using classrooms, to promote and maintain a relaxed atmosphere for students.

Second, the main interview questions were directed at what students perceive to be Korean teachers' expectations of students; cultural differences between teachers and students; significance of teachers to students; other Asian language teachers' expectations of students; and so on (see Appendix D). Third, opinion questions were directed at expectations and how students feel about teachers' expectations of them. For example, 'What do you think are native Korean teachers' expectations of students?' Students' beliefs, perceptions, expectations, attitudes and values were naturally exposed in their answers.

For the teachers, I asked them, both native and non-native Korean teachers, about background, their education backgrounds, place of education, years of teaching practice, age, their perceptions of Korean language education in Australia and their perceptions of students in Korean class. For example, the teachers were asked how they perceive individual students and their expectations of each student, if there is any differences in students' classroom behaviour between Australian, Korean background, and International **Asian** students in Australian classrooms; student behavioural differences between Korea and Australia and so on (see Appendix D).

Open-ended interviewing was continually used during the research periods. The purpose of open-ended interviewing is to access the perspective of the person being interviewed (Jacob, 1987; Patton, 1991). Further, open-ended questions are believed to be an effective procedure for generating an authentic understanding of people's experiences (Silverman, 1993, 2000). The backgrounds of the participants in this study, along with personal details such as age, sex, major, personal involvement with native Korean(s) and so on, are shown in Appendix C. In order to encourage informants to express their feelings, perceptions and thoughts freely to me, I guaranteed that interview data for this study would remain anonymous and confidential.

Qualitative researchers do not seek information from a random sample but from people who are 'good' informants. Phillips (1995) advises that 'good' informants are those individuals who are willing participants in the study. Accordingly, I sought people who were willing to share time with me, who were talkative, and who knew about the topics of the study. Many informants in this study were majoring in two languages, mostly Asian languages, and some of them had teaching language experiences in Australia or overseas in Japan, China or Korea. Informants continuously compared Korean teachers to other Asian and Western teachers they had been taught by and noted the differences between teachers according to their background.

The teachers at universities in this study encouraged students to be informants for this study initially, and then either I approached the dormants individually, or they voluntarily became mformants. This means that students approached me first to be a part of my research project by offering time for interviews before I asked them to be mformants. Interviews with students were conducted either one-to-one interview or as a small group interviews. Depend on students' timetable, types of interview were arranged. For example, about most of the informants in this study were interviewed as one-to-one. In some cases, when students found common time, before or after lessons, they elected to have small group interviews, mostly in pairs.

Every student and teacher in this study was interviewed more than once providing a measure for validity, reliability consistency over time in what the same individual reported (Fraenkel and Wallen, 1993). At University Y, every participant was interviewed 3 times through the research period. In University X's case, most of participants were interviewed 2 or 3 times. The length of the interviews varied from 30 to 100minutes.

The native Korean language teachers and non-native Korean language teachers involved in this study were also interviewed formally and informally, averaging twice per person at their office, in restaurants, or cafes on campus. Formal intensive interviews regarding teachers' perceptions and expectations towards students and cultural diversity with Australian and Asian international students and so on were conducted in the Korean teachers' offices at universities and/or cafes at

universities. Informal interviews such as Korean teacher education backgrounds, their academic majors, the year they moved to Australia, the reason they decided to move to Australia, how long they have been staying in Australia, their teaching experiences in Korea and Australia, their everyday life in Australia, their **family** and so on were conducted outside universities such as in restaurants or cafes during lunch or dinner.

Both formally and informally, the teachers were asked about their expectations and perceptions of students, as well as teaching Korean language in Australia. They were also asked about the differences between Australian, international, and Korean background students' learning behaviours in classrooms. The type of conversation used was casual unstructured conversation with implicit agendas, to structured interviews with more directed purposes to discover how informants think and feel (see Appendix D and E).

Audio-taped interviews with students and teachers were transcribed into hard copies by using word process on computers and descriptive memos were recorded in note form simultaneously during the period of intensive research as recommended by Hollyway and Jefferson (2000), Lofland and Lofland (1984) and Strauss (1987). These notes formed the database for the refinement of quotations day by day when I was in the field. They also formed the grounds for analytic files and patterns in the **data** analysis stage of the study. Similarities and differences between students and their backgrounds were recorded in narrative memos.

In addition to gathering data through observations and interviews, I collected relevant documentation from the Korean teachers, students, and university administration offices because a group's conscious and unconscious beliefs, attitudes, values and ideas are often revealed in the documents they produce (Schostak, 2002). From the teachers, I collected textbooks, course materials and other relevant materials for this study. From the students, I collected written work, textbooks, exercise sheets and so on. From university administration I collected general information about Korean language courses, the number of students enrolled in Korean language subjects and documents that are published by universities for students.

These varieties of sources provide basic background information for the research. The materials were used to contextualise and understand Korean language teachers' teaching styles and students' learning levels. Relevant documents published by universities were used as a source of data for this study.

Data Processing

The data analysis was guided by the principles outlined by Fetterman (1989), Lofland and Lofland (1984), Potter (1996), Strauss (1987), Silverman (2000) and Woods (1986). Inductive approaches were used from the period of data collection to the final theoretical analysis. Data analysis was **based** on what I observed, heard and read in the research setting in order to 'create explanations, develop theories,

and make connections between my study and others' (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992: 156).

In order to do so, I searched for patterns in the recorded field notes, made comparisons, categorised data and interpreted the data from two different research settings. The interview questions were partly guided by the two themes (which is based on cultural differences, perceptions and expectations and interaction in classroom) drawn from the literature review and theoretical framework of this study. Data were also analysed later according to these two main themes as well. In addition, detailed patterns in interactions of teachers and students were discovered. In this way, I sought to discover patterns and key events by comparing three different information sources in a 'triangulated' way. As a final step, the data were analysed and coded according to the theoretical propositions found in Chapter II. Thus, typologies were constructed around the core categories of the different perceptions and expectations of students according to their background and Korean teachers' pedagogies in Korean language classes.

More specifically, I marked up the entire transcript database and identified themes. These themes are: expectations and perceptions between teachers and students in the classroom; verbal and non-verbal interaction patterns between teachers and students; and cultural differences between foreign language teachers and students. I then revisited the data transcripts and sought to interpret each theme and its relationship with the others. Finally, I interpreted these themes against the

theoretical concepts, Bernstein (1975, 1990) and Hargreaves (1972, 1975), developed in Chapter III. At this stage, Bernstein's ideas of visible and invisible pedagogies and Hargreaves's arguments about the relationship between teacher expectations, self-concepts and students' academic achievements assumed special significance. The data analysis in this study was derived from many students with cultural differences in Korean language classes and the argument has been built in many dimensions by increasing the source of data and exposure to different theories.

Each theme includes several subthemes that seemed appreciate in reflecting both my interpretation of the data substance of the theoretical concepts. For example, in the case of 'expectation', I defined it as four different aspects according to students' responses, namely, high, low, positive and negative. First, I compared students' perceptions of each of the Korean teachers according to their year of study. I did that because I found that depending on the year of study, students are likely to have different perceptions of the same teacher. Again, whenever students made particular statements about specific situations in the classroom during interviews, I tried to seek the evidence during classroom observation. For example, students at University Y stated that Korean teachers were likely to have higher expectations of Korean background students than other students. In this way, I discovered different patterns in the teachers' interaction with Korean background, Australian and other students.

Second, I categorised students into three groups namely, Korean background students, Australian students, and Asian international students. This is because during the field research period, I found that there were students with several different cultural backgrounds in Korean language classrooms. However, the Korean classrooms consist of mainly these three groups of the background of students. Further I found that depending on the background of students, their perceptions and attitudes about Korean language study, the teachers, and Korean culture tend to differ. For example, Korean background students had different motivations and supports from their parents set toward the study of Korean language compared to Australian or international students.

Third, I combined the teachers' perceptions and expectations of students with the students' perceptions of what the teachers expect of them to compare how they perceived each other, and what they were expect from each other in classrooms. This procedure yielded an account of social relations in the classroom and modes of pedagogic communication. The three-step comparisons of each setting in the two universities provided the forms of pedagogic patterns in the classroom drawn from students' personal background and achievements in Korean language classrooms. In addition, students generally at both universities displayed different perceptions of native Korean teachers and other Asian language teachers (Japanese, Chinese and Indonesian), and of native Korean teachers and native Australian teachers.

Also four Korean teachers' personal backgrounds and their perceptions and expectations of students were compared to understand social relations in Korean classrooms and cultural differences between teachers and students. The teachers' perceptions and expectations of Korean language students was analysed for similarities and differences. Teachers' perceptions and expectations were compared with those of the students. In this way, a comparison was made between Korean teachers and the students in their social relations.

As figures in Chapter III indicate, the data in this study are based and conceptualised by existing categorisations such as teacher expectations (high, low, positive, and negative) as well as concept of cultural differences between a teacher and students in the classroom. I compared my data to other existing educational researches in teacher expectations and cultural differences in classrooms through this study. I use the following transcription conventions for Chapter V, Data Presentation.

Quantitative Method

Questionnaire to the students was conducted at the same two universities in 2002 where I conducted qualitative researches in 1998 and 1999. It was thought that the questionnaire would provide additional data about the Korean teaching context from the students perspective to support what was being investigated through the use of qualitative methods. Questionnaire can provide more objective information about groups than interviews (Brannen, 1992; Gardner and Winslow, 1972).

Quantitative approaches to research differ from qualitative approaches in that they tend to emphasise the systematic measurement and qualification of variables, statistical analysis of the quantitative data and the use of mathematical models and causal inference (Balnaves, 2001; Johnson, 1992; Maxim, 1999). Quantitative approaches are usually presented as a scientific mode of inquiry characterised by yardsticks of objectivity, reliability and prediction. This study is based on both methodologies in order to provide objectivity of data.

The student questionnaire is based on the interview questions that were used during the qualitative research at the universities in 1998 and 1999 (See Appendix A). The survey is shorter than the interview questions and the data of personal details from the survey are comparatively limited than the data from qualitative method research. However, as mentioned above, the survey was conducted to provide additional data about the students in the Korean language programs in Australia. As a researcher I wondered if the new students find the social settings in the Korean language classrooms the same way the previous students did about three years ago.

I firstly obtained permission of research from the Korean teachers and then sent the survey form to the Korean teachers at 2 universities. These 2 settings are called University X and University Y in this study. The teacher at University X conducted the survey to their students for my benefit and then mailed them to me. In University Y's case I flew to the university and conducted the survey with the

Korean teachers. The number of the students in the Korean language programs at both universities has been more decreased even after I conducted qualitative research which is attributed to the economic crisis in Korea. Total number of the students who enrolled in the Korean language programs was 41 at both universities and 34 students were participated to this survey. The participants consist of 11 male and 23 female with the age range from 18 to 44 year old. The participants appear to be 14 Australian, 16 Korean background and 4 Asian international students from Japan and Indonesia. All students who involved in the survey in 2002 were not interviewed or observed during the research in 1998 and 1999.

The responses were entered into a computer, EXCEL, according to students' backgrounds and types of answers soon after the survey. The results of the survey are analysed in terms of agree, neutral and disagree with the survey statements in Chapter V. The survey database is shown in Appendix B. In the following section, I present the research school settings of University X and Y and the participants of this study.

Description of the Research Sites and Subjects

This section discusses research sites and subjects involved with this study, in 1998, 1999 and 2002 consists of two main parts. The first part of this section provides reasons for the choice of sites and backgrounds of Korean language programs in Australia. The second part focuses on the two language program settings, the curriculum and subjects.

To investigate the research questions of this study, 2 Korean language programs at universities were chosen from a total of 9 universities that are currently involved with Korean foreign language teaching in Australia. The Korean language program at University Y was chosen for this study because it has the largest number of Korean language learners outside Queensland, my home state. The Korean language program at University X was chosen because it has the longest history of Korean language teaching in Australia. More importantly, the Korean teachers at both universities generously gave me permission to observe in their classrooms and for interviews with students and themselves for this study.

Before proceeding, I recount experiences with local universities at the commencement of my studies in order to justify why particularly University X and Y were selected.

I began this study by approaching a near university to undertake research for this study. The Korean teacher at the university refused permission to conduct classroom observations in her class because of a fear of losing 'face' from my observations and interviews with students. I was also asked by the teacher to pay the students at least ten dollars per student per hour for each interview. I declined the offer.

I then approached another university that has the largest Korean language program in Australia. However, I decided not to conduct research at this university for this study because during a pilot study in 1997 I found that Korean teachers and students studying for postgraduate degrees at this university conducted many interviews each semester with Korean language students, mostly undergraduates. Consequently, the rates of voluntary participation for research were low. Some students even asked me if I would pay them for interviews. ~~As~~ I wished to collect data voluntarily given, I therefore sought other sites.

Finally, in another local university, the number of student learners in the Korean language programs dramatically decreased to less than 10 in 1998 as a result of the economic crisis in South Korea at the end of 1997.

For these reasons, I elected to undertake research outside Queensland where there were conducive research sites in Korean language programs with a high probability of voluntary participation. I therefore selected the 2 universities from which the data of this thesis were drawn. In addition, the Korean teachers at University X and Y were agreeable to conduct research with their students ~~as~~ well as in their classrooms. For these reasons, University X and Y optimised my prospects for collecting data relevant to my study. I now turn to background of Asian language education in Australia and 2 Korean program settings involved with this study.

Background of Asian Language Education & Korean Program Settings

In the 1990s, Asian language studies emerged in the Australian education system at both state and national levels because of the nature of the Australian and the global economies in the Asian-Pacific region. The Council of Australian Government (COAG) (1993) noted the importance of the development of a comprehensive understanding of Asian languages and cultures through the Australian education system.

However, Marriott (1992) indicates that Asian studies in Australia are heavily focused on the economic links between **Asia** and Australia rather than concern educational or social factors. Australian federal and state education policies emphasise the teaching of Asian studies and languages to respond to the increasing importance of the economic function and geographical reality of Australia as a Pacific Rim /Asian nation. Muller and Wong (1991) also argue that the old parochialism of the past in Australia tended to ignore Asia. More recently, a new parochialism **has** emerged that focuses on the economically successful areas of Asian region. According to their study, current Asian language studies do not emphasise cultural studies, third world studies, conflict studies or imperialist studies as in the past in Australian universities, but current Asian studies is heavily based on structure of economic success (or failure).

Korean language teaching in Australia is an example of Muller and Wong's analysis. Korean is one of the most important Asian languages for language

education in Australia in the middle of 1990s from the point of view of the Australian economic situation, along with Japanese, Chinese and Indonesian. Buzo (1995) reports that Korean language study in Australia has begun to expand as a result of growing perceptions of Korea's economic significance and the Korean export market in Australia's economic future. **As** a consequence, Korean has come to be known as an 'economic language' rather than a 'cultural language' or 'community language'. Thus, the teaching and learning of Korean language is justified on economic grounds (Buzo, 1995: 57).

To promote Asian language education for social and intellectual reasons, Viviani (1992) suggests three reasons why Asian studies should be taught in Australian schools. The first is the intellectual factor. It is emphasised that students need to learn from **as** well as about **Asia**. The second is the philosophical factor that there are important ideas to be learned from Asia. The third is utilitarian. Viviani (1992) states that:

We will never prosper as we should unless we are able to operate competently in Asian countries. It will be worse for us if we do not gain the knowledge that we need to do well in our trade and diplomacy in **Asia** (Viviani, 1992: 69).

She stresses that it is important to balance all three principles for success in an Asian studies program. Similarly, James in 1978, even before **Asian** language education became popular in Australian classrooms in the 1990s, suggests that Asian language studies in Australian schools, from primary to university levels,

should include all of the roles of foreign language learning, educational, social, political and economic.

Research Sites

Korean language teaching in Australian universities began with a small number of students in the early 1980s at the Australian National University. **Since** 1988, **8** more universities offered a three-year Korean language major. These Korean language courses aim at oral and reading proficiency in modern Korean language and support Korea-related courses dealing with subjects such as culture, history, politics, economics, business and commerce (Buzo, 1995). Research for this study was conducted at 2 of these 9 universities in Austrah, University X and Y.

There was a total of 29 students in the Korean language program at University X and except for 1 student, every student was involved with this study in 1999. University X had 24 Australian students, 1 Korean background student and **4** international students. University X offers a three-year Korean language major as well as other subjects associated with Korean culture, history and society. University X also has a program for students who have Korean background. However, because of the small number of applicants, the program was not operating when I visited University X.

Similarly, University Y also has **2** different Korean programs for students who do not have Korean backgrounds and Korean background students. The course for

Korean background students is for these who already have high levels of Korean language skills. In that course, students study Korean language through Korean literature and newspapers. In contrast, the other program is for ‘non-native Korean’ students such as Australian and international students who do not have previous knowledge or skills in Korean language. Korean background students who do not have knowledge of Korean language also enroll in this course. For example, a student who **has** Korean parents but has not learnt Korean at home or at an institution is eligible. This study focused on 14 students from the latter program, namely 7 Australian students, 2 Korean background students and 5 Asian international students.

University Y had a total enrolment of 160 for these 2 programs in first semester 1998. Over 130 students were in the first program and 23 students were in the second program. These Korean language programs at University Y were more actively involved with Korean background students than with Australian or Asian international students. The total number of students of the Korean language program at University X and Y according to gender and year is shown in the Table

4.

Table 4. Korean Language Program Enrolments at Universities X and Y.

University X				
	1 st year	2 nd year	3 rd year	4 th year
Male	8	5	3	-
Female	3	6	3	2
Total	11	11	6	2

	1 st year	2 nd year	3 rd year	4 th year
Male	6	1	1	
Female	8	3	4	3
Total	14	4	5	3

There was a total of **28** students at University X involved in this study, 11 female and 17 male, ranging of from 18 to 36 years old. The informants in this study were divided into 3 groups according to their backgrounds: (1) Korean (2) Australian and (3) Asian international students. The informants' personal details such as name, age, sex, major and background are shown in Appendix A. It should be noted that one female student at University X, who had a full time job and studied Korean language part-time, was not involved in this study due to her busy schedule.

At University Y, there were 14 students who involved in this study, 9 female and 5 male. They ranged from 19 to 36 years old. As for University X, the key informants were also divided into 3 groups.

Descriptions of Language Courses

University X has offered a Korean language program since 1987. University X had a Korean language program for Korean background students, but it was not operating during the research period due to the small number of applicants. The program offered **5** hours per week for first and second year and 3 official hours and **2** unofficial hours per week for third year students. Thus, third year students had only 3 hours per week but the teacher offered a **2** hour extra lesson for the benefit

of students. The participation in the extra lesson of the third year students was high.

University Y has offered a Korean language program since 1989 along with several associated subjects such as Korean culture and society. The Korean language study course at University Y consisted of 5 hours per week contact for the first and second year students, and 3 hours per week contact for third year students. The curriculum dealt with grammar, reading comprehension, speaking, writing and listening.

Universities X and Y both used the same textbook, *Learning Korean: New Directions* that is published by Buzo and Shin (1994) in Australia. The books consist of four levels. Level 1 and 2 are used for the first year students and Level 3 and 4 are used for the second year students. The curriculum deals with grammar, listening, reading comprehension, speaking and writing. Unlike University Y, the third year Korean language program mainly focused on Korean composition and reading rather than Korean conversation. For additional classroom exercise activities, Korean teachers often prepared extra sheets for lessons. Third year students in both Korean language programs did not use textbooks. Teaching materials were generally prepared by the teachers for each week's class with different topics as handouts.

Selection of Subjects (Teachers)

At university **X**, the staff consisted of **4** teachers, of whom 2 were native Koreans, 1 male and 1 female, as well as 2 non-native Koreans, 1 male Russian and 1 female Australian. These native Korean teachers are referred to as Teacher *C* and *D* in this study. Teacher *C* was undertaking a higher education course during the research period and Teacher *D* was teaching Korean at University **X** and an Australian government organisation.

The staff at University **Y** consisted of 2 male native Korean and 1 male Asian non-native Korean speaker. The native Korean teachers taught Korean language as well as courses associated with Korea or Korean linguistics. The Asian teacher taught first, second and third year Korean reading and Korean culture. The native Korean teachers referred to as *A* and *B* in this study. They obtained their tertiary qualifications from Korean universities and undertook higher education in Australia or another western country. Further details of the teachers appear in Chapter **V**.

It should be noted that this study focused on native Korean teachers rather than non-native Korean teachers. The reasons for this decision are as follows. The first was an Indian teacher who was majoring in ancient Korean history for his PhD degree when I conducted the research at University **Y**. The Korean teachers explained to me that he was not an official staff member of the Korean language program at University **Y**, but because of a shortage of teaching staff, he temporarily

took a 1 hour Korean reading subject for first, second and third year classes. He is no longer with University Y.

The second was an Australian teacher who was majoring in modern Korean history for her PhD degree when I conducted the research at University X. She taught a total of 3 hours to second year Korean language students per week on a temporary basis. She is no longer with University X.

The third was a Russian teacher who majored in Korean and Chinese language and cultural studies. He was the only teacher who was employed by the University as a full time staff member and majored in Korean language. He taught Korean language to third year students and Korean culture to students in Asian studies at University X.

It will be recalled that my major interest in this thesis lies with native Korean teachers, rather than with all of these teachers. This study then does not include data for any of the non-native Korean teachers at University X and Y.

Selection of Subjects (Students)

Because of the small number of Korean learners at Universities X and Y, each year level of students were involved in this study. In this study the students and the teachers are categorised by their cultural backgrounds because culture is not only one of major distinctive elements that is used to distinguish differences of the

nature of human societies but also provides the major vehicle of communication as well as communicating ideas, values, and beliefs through generations. The Korean programs at both Universities X and Y included Korean background students, Australians, and international students, who were Asians from Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia and Hong Kong.

The definition of a *Korean background student* in this study is:

- (1) a student who has a native Korean parent or parents and
- (2) a student who was born in Korea and had immigrated to Australia as an infant or young person (or a student who has a native Korean parent or parents who immigrated to Australia with the student born in Australia) and
- (3) a student who speaks English as a first language but who meets the criteria in (1) and (2).

The definition of an *Australian student* in this study is:

- (1) a student who has Anglo-Saxon parent(s) or other European parent(s) and
- (2) a student who was **born** and grew up in Australia and
- (3) a student who speaks English as a first language.

The definition of *Asian international students* in this study is:

- (1) a student who has Asian background parent(s) and
- (2) a student who was born and grew up in an **Asian** country and

(3) a student whose stay in Australia is temporary for higher education purposes.

The major difference between Universities X and Y is that University X consisted of mostly Australian students and a small number of Korean and Asian international students. In contrast, University Y had a large number of Korean and Asian background students and a small number of Australian students. Participants at each university are discussed in detail below. The comparison of students' backgrounds at Universities X and Y is shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Backgrounds of Students in Korean Language Programs at University X and Y

University X	24	1	4	1
University Y	8	5	9	3

1. Students who enrolled in the Korean language course but withdrew in the middle of semester were not included in this table.
2. International in this study means international students from Japan, Hong Kong, Indonesia and Malaysia.
3. Japanese and Hong Kong background students were found at University Y. They were either born in Australia or immigrated to Australia when they were infants or young children. As the number of students in this study is small, they are not considered as a major category in this study.

Students who acted as informants in this study were qualified to answer the research questions I asked about cultural differences, teacher expectations, self-

concept and classroom interactions. They were university students, with long-standing relationships with teachers compared to primary or high school students.

Further, many of them were majoring in Asian studies and Asian languages other than Korean, such as Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, and even Europeans language such as French (See Appendix C). Some students were majoring in 2 different languages for their degree. Many students had 'In-Country' language learning experiences for their language learning in Korea, China, Japan, Indonesia, or France, and some of them taught English to Asian students at the same time. They were capable of making comparisons with confidence not only between Western and Asian language teachers but also between Korean and other *Asian* language teachers in Australia. In other words, most of these students were knowledgeable and informed about the culture of their own country as well as 'Asian' culture(s).

These articulate individuals are called *key informants* and considered as highly useful sources of information to researchers (Fraenkel and Wallen, 1993: 389). I obtained 'thick' information from such key informants who were interested in the study and what I was doing in their classrooms. Key informants can not only offer insights that are invaluable to researchers but also help identify the nature of other students' talk as well as behaviours (Fraenkel and Wallen, 1993; Woods, 1986). Thus, key informants acted as a crosscheck on data that I obtained from interviews with other informants and classroom observations.

These key informants provided a sense of history, interpreting present events as part of an ongoing process. For example, informants told me about their previous years of Korean language learning and other Asian language studies, relationships with previous teachers, what is like to study Korean language (or other Asian/European languages) as Australian or Asian international students and so on (see Appendix E, a sample of an interview script). Moreover, I obtained information from nearly 50 students in the 2 universities through interview, observation and document collection. To this extent, I have no reason to believe that the data in this study were influenced by some informants telling me what they wanted me to hear.

Limitations

Two methodological limitations are relevant to the study such small samples although qualitative research methods, in general, tend to provide a more comprehensive perspective to a small-scale context. Indeed, Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) note that small samples and numbers of cases, perhaps just one case studied in detail are common. Furthermore, the Korean language programs in Australian universities encompass relatively small numbers of students and teachers compared to other Asian language programs such as Japanese or Chinese. For example, in this study there are no more than 30 Korean language students, from first to third years, at each of the 2 universities that comprise my sample (see Table 4). Moreover, the number of the Korean native speaking teachers at each university is **2**.

The survey sample for this study is also relatively small, **34** participants out of total enrolments 41 students at University X and Y. Because of the time limitations, the survey was conducted at two universities in two different states in Australia only.

In summary, I have established the setting of the research and the research process used in this study. Symbolic interactionism interviewing and observation together with document analysis were used to generate data about students' self-concepts, perceptions, teacher expectations, interactions among teachers and students, and cultural issues between teachers and students in Australian university classrooms. These techniques are based on natural settings produced in the day-by-day **life** of the classrooms and considered appropriate for this study. The three background classifications of Korean language learners were identified and the characteristics of the curriculum, subjects at two research sites have been explicated. In the next chapter I discuss the results of the research project conducted within these parameters.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This study is about the social interaction patterns that occur between Korean language teachers and students at two selected Australian universities. In this chapter, I present data that bear on the research questions set out in Chapter III by evidence of symbolic interactionism and survey data.

In order to do this, I discuss the data in two sections, namely, the cultures of the classroom and the construction of social roles. In the first section, I provide evidence that there are patterns of pedagogic discourse that are generated in the Korean language classrooms in the Australian university classrooms I investigated. In the second section, I show how pedagogic discourse gives shape and direction to the social relations in the Korean language classrooms I frequented during this study. In the third section, the survey data are also shown after the discussion of the data from the qualitative research in this study. I now turn to these **tasks**. (It should be noted that 'Korean teacher(s)' in this chapter refers to native Korean teachers only).

Part One: The Evidence for the Existence of Pedagogic Discourse

The Social Context: The Korean teachers beliefs in Korean Language Teaching in Australia

The personal background of the Korean teachers in this study is shown in the Table 6 below. In what follows, I provide vignettes that illustrate the kinds of assumptions these teachers have about teaching and learning.

Table 6. The Personal Background of the Korean Teachers in this Study

	35-45	35-45	35-45	35-45
	Male	Male	Male	Female
	Korea	Korea	Korea and Australia	Korea
	A western country	Australia	Australia	N/A
	8yrs	11yrs	14yrs	8yrs
	8yrs (& other western country-8yrs)	11yrs	14yrs	13yrs
	1 st & 3 rd	1 st & 2 nd	1 st	2 nd
Work basis	Full time	Full time	Full time	Part time

The 4 Korean teachers in this study believed that teaching styles and methods should be different for Australia and Korean social conditions, based on an assessment of cultural differences, language teaching methods and also teaching and learning in general. They pointed out several ways their attitudes toward teaching are different in Australia. First, Teacher *C* at University *X* studied an Asian language for 3 years at a university in Korea before moving to Australia for

other undergraduate and postgraduate courses. His view was that Korean teachers in Australia *tend* to use ‘Korean-like teaching styles’ with Australian students. These can create difficulties with students’. He pointed to what he referred to as the ‘inflexibility’ of Korean teachers as one of main elements of a ‘Korean teaching style’. He believed that Korean teachers needed to be more flexible when teaching in Australia, where ‘flexible’ means listening to students, focusing on individual student’s needs, and being considerate to students who need help with study or even with personal matters.

Similarly, Teacher A at University Y stated that ‘the Korean way of thinking’ about teaching and learning was out of its cultural context in Australian universities. He was committed to the view that Korean teachers needed to understand the education system and school environments in Australia.

Teacher C stated that ‘some Korean teachers in Australia seem to have a complex about their job such as lack of confidence’. It seems Korean teachers are anxious about their teaching careers in Australia and their status because teachers are generally more respected in Asia including Korea. **An** additional pressure is that teaching Korean language by native Korean teachers is, in their own perceptions and in other’s perceptions, an ‘easy job’ when in **fact** it is difficult. Perceptions like these complicate the Korean teachers’ self-image and their views of teaching as an occupation.

The other mitigating condition according to Teacher *C* is the relative unpopularity of Korean language education in Australia. Although Korean has been one of the four main Asian languages in Australia for the last 6 years along with Japanese, Chinese and Indonesian, there are relatively small numbers of Korean language learners compared to other Asian languages. Nevertheless, Teacher *C* was proud of his work, thought it was important, and strived to interest students in Korean language.

Teacher *D* majored in a European language in Korea and taught high school before moving to Australia with her husband and two sons. Unlike other 3 teachers in this study, she did not study for a higher education qualification in Australia or other western countries. Teacher *C*, her colleague, commented that Teacher *D* had a good understanding of Australian students and was willing to negotiate with students. They had been working together for many years, largely because of their shared perceptions of how best to work with Australian students.

One of the main differences between teachers in Korea and Australia, according to Teacher *D*, is the need to understand students' personal backgrounds. For example, **Sophta**, a second year Australian student, could not take a test because of illness.

Teacher *D* described the situation:

During the test, she made a memo on the test paper that she was unable to study because she was sick. If this happens in Korea, such student behaviours would be much less acceptable. But in Australia, teachers need to know the students' background, listen to students and be considerate. For example, in this case, I gave her one more chance to take the test.

The parents of Sophia were divorced and she alternated residence between her parents' separate houses. Teacher D was tactful about the issue because, to an Asian, a broken family is still a sensitive and unusual event compared to Australia. For example, in my own case, from primary to university education in Korea, I had not met any classmate with divorced parents. Teacher D commented that it is important to understand Australian students in a holistic way rather than taking a 'Korean-like' approach to students' backgrounds and circumstances.

Teacher B at University Y, who was trained in Australia, indicated that many Korean teachers focused on 'maintaining the status' of Korean teaching in Australia rather than improving the teaching. His view was that 'Korean language teaching is not highly systematic in Australia'. Part of the reasoning about this was that many Korean teachers have academic backgrounds in linguistics and consequently, tend to use linguistic-based methods in their teaching. His perspective was that the main purpose of learning a language is communication, rather than a knowledge of formal models of language. Effective language teaching for this teacher was concerned with teaching students how to communicate with appropriate grammar and extensive classroom practice. Moreover, he argued that the culture associated with Korean language should be as important as the language itself. He believed that Korean teachers need to communicate frequently about the development of Korean language education in Australia. As I watched Teacher B's teaching, these views were reinforced by

classroom practices such as the provision of opportunities for students to speak Korean.

Perceptions and Expectations of Students' Performances by The Korean Teachers

The literature review in this study shows that teachers tend to establish different perceptions to individual students. Teachers' perceptions of the students' ability to learn, character, gender, previous academic record, and ethnic background directly influence expectations of students. In this way, perceptions lead teachers to have different expectations of their students and, in turn, they influence students' self-expectations.

A general observation about the teachers in the study is that they all had perceptions of their students. One of them was more oriented towards current performances, while the other teachers tended to include student characteristics such as the way students approached their study, their interests and judgments. Different teachers can have different perceptions of the same student. Table 7 contains an example of this situation.

The difference between Teachers A and B is that one teacher might constantly compare students on the basis of marks as the most important factor in evaluating students' abilities to learn Korean. In contrast, another teacher may evaluate individuals according to his perception of students' personalities and the way they approached their study. Consequently, a teacher may have a flexible approach to a

student's marks, believing that a student's score could be changed so that low achievers can be high achievers some other time. In this perspective, all students are potentially high achievers and are not categorised as successes or failures in a generic sense.

Table 7. A Comparison of the Perceptions of Students Between Teacher A and B

Martin (Australian)	He not only doesn't have much ability but also doesn't study either. Last semester he just managed to pass.	Martin i t i and i t l t i exercises and quiz. He even prepared a special dress for an activity we had before.
Yoko (Japanese international)	She doesn't look like she is studying. When she is asked questions she just 'hehe' laughs. She doesn't study seriously.	She is well behaved. Generally students from Japan are like that. She appears to study hard but her performance is not that good.
Kate (Japanese background student)	She looks like she is a little bit better than Yoko.	She used to study Korean for one year before, so she asks me highly difficult questions. She is serious about study. Even though she is Japanese she looks like she's been in Australia for a long time so unlike international Japanese students, she is cheerful and active.
Justin (Australian)	Among first year students he is the best. He seems to have a talent for language learning. Besides, he makes a great effort to study. He has the best mark last semester.	In first year class, he is an ideal student. He is serious about study, does all homework and doesn't make noise during lessons. He doesn't join activity voluntarily but does do well when his turn.
Leonie (Korean background student)	She is doing well. Her mum is Korean so she is doing well. Her Korean speaking is good but written is a mess. Her written is worse than Justin's.	She has a Korean background and is serious about study. She is doing well and leads the class. It has good and bad aspects that Korean background students lead the class.
Scott (Korean background student)	He is better than the others. His marks are also good. He is one of the best students. He has a Korean background and for a while he showed faster progress compared to others.	He has a Korean background and leads the class. He tries to answer questions with funny stories includes stories about his Korean girl friend. Overall, he is a good student. He studies hard.

In contrast, it is possible for a teacher to have positive perceptions of high achievers and have the view that 'there is a limit to the teachers' support for students' (Field

Notes). A teacher in this study believed that students need to be motivated to study rather than relying on teacher support to maintain motivation to study. There are echoes of this thinking in the comments of Korean background students.

Another possibility is that teachers care more about students who are interested in Korean studies and have plans to continue to study Korean even though they were not high achievers. For example, Romeo, an Australian student, completed 3 years of Japanese study and was planning to study in Japan. Because of his Asian language study background, his performance in Korean was better than many other students. About Romeo, Teacher C stated:

Romeo is performing well in class now but he is studying Korean only for this semester and then he will leave (university) and probably he will speak Korean hardly ever again. That's a pity (University X).

Diana was a classmate of Romeo, an Australian student who studied Korean part time because she had a full time job. Teacher C seemed to have higher expectations of Diana than Romeo although her performance was lower than that of Romeo. Teacher C described Diana like this:

There was a girl just like Diana (in my class). She wasn't very good with Korean at first but now she lives in Korea and works at the embassy. She even appeared on Korean TV. Diana's learning style is just like hers (University X).

Teacher C frequently told me that learning a language is a long-term study, which requires many years of application. His view is based on his own experience of learning English and he immerses himself in Australian culture. He often advises his students to think about using Korean language in many walks of life after

finishing university. This is the reason why many second and third-year students at one of the universities were planning to go to Korea for study fewer in the other university planned to do so.

In respect to perceptions of students, one of the teachers indicated that there were two groups of Australian students in the Korean class. There were students who were exposed to Korean language or Korean culture in a negative way. This was generally a mature age group. He pointed to Rod, a first year European background student. Rod told me about difficulties with his Korean girl friend culturally. He told me that he was criticised by her parents and family as he is divorced and has a son from a previous marriage. It seems to me that his personal experience with Koreans in his private life affects his view of other Korean people as well as his Korean language studies. This teacher explained that students who have negative images of Korea or Korean are likely to be unsuccessful in Korean study.

The other group is composed of students who do not have any preconceived image of Korea, such as young high school students. Teacher C found that these young students are more flexible in their language learning. He stated that 'they might look shy but they absorb language like a sponge. They have a high success rate in learning Korean and many of them go to Korea for study too'.

Another of the teachers supported the individual needs of students. She explained that it was not practical for teachers to apply the same expectations to every student because students have different levels of learning and different goals. She argued

that teachers need to constantly support students to achieve higher levels so that they can progress rather than expecting every student to achieve the same level.

This teacher stated that it was true that teachers tended to focus on good performers in class and have higher expectations of them. However, she was adamant that this did not necessarily mean that teachers favour these students. Thus, she said:

Class is not only a place to learn but also a place where people socialise with each other. Although students are good with learning, if they lack generosity or disregard students who do not study well then it is annoying. When I have students like that in my class, I try to solve the problem carefully (University X).

This teacher was astonished when I told her that the students thought that Korean teachers did not have high expectations of them. She stated that:

I was expecting they would say something totally opposite... This means that there is room for them to achieve more than what they do now and they are able to accept more expectations from me. That's good! It is nice to know (University X).

She concluded that if students perceived teachers in this way, she needed to have higher expectations of them.

Culturally Diverse Classrooms

The literature review in Chapter II indicates that when a teacher and students come from different cultural backgrounds, they display potentially different understanding of academic achievement, motivation, teaching and learning styles. This is partly a response to differences in beliefs, experiences and backgrounds, that orientate people differently to school culture. The contrasting goals and

understanding of teachers and students can affect classroom teaching and learning in negative as well as positive ways.

Students in this study pointed to five factors that may influence cultural differences between Korean and western teachers and between Korean and other Asian language teachers. These factors were: Korean teachers teaching experiences in Australia, study experiences in Australia or other western countries, a period of residency in Australia, age and attitudes toward Austrahn culture. These five factors are discussed in this theme.

Whatever cultural differences there are between Korean and western teachers, most students at the two universities thought that there were few major differences in classroom behaviours. Long periods of residency in Australia led to the adoption of westernised teachtng styles and a familiarity with Australian students' learning processes. Terry, a first year Australian student majoring in Japanese for three years at one of the universities, stated:

I think Teacher C would have a dflerent experience because he was taught in Korea but because he's been staying in Australia for quite some time and has a lot of interactions with other Australian teachers, he is not like other Asian teachers. Teacher C is like any other Australian teacher (University X).

The Australian students perceived that Korean and western teachers' classroom management behaviours differ little. Maria, a third year Australian student, felt that Teacher A had a 'kind attitude' towards students although the teacher did not have high expectations of students. She explained her perception by pointing out Teacher A's experience in America and Australia. Maria stated:

Teacher A's attitude is quite good but I think it is because he used to live overseas quite a long time. Like the teachers I had last year, the teachers were quite restricted that's what actually happens coming from Korean background. She (one of the previous teachers from last year) hasn't been here that long. She was just doing teaching in a classroom (University Y).

In another interview with a group of students, I was told by Gloria, an Australian student majoring in Korean and Japanese languages, and Rosa, majoring in Accounting and Korean language, that Korean teachers adopted western teachers' behaviours in teaching, while retaining their Korean attitudes. Gloria said:

They seem like they think in a western way somehow. They seem more natural and unpretentious. But then again, I don't think Koreans are as rude as Australians, not quite as rude but in the same way they are like that.

They don't seem as ...umm if I say 'I am not good at something' then they just accept that. They don't say 'oh, yes, you are' like Australians. I think that's good to be honest. I truly feel that way. They seem more honest than others (University Y).

Other students however, recognised 'small cultural differences' in native Korean teachers' behaviours. For example, most students in this study thought that Korean teachers have 'patient' and 'polite' manners and practice non-hierarchical structures in the classroom. This bears further comment because as I explain later, the classrooms are recognisably structured.

Patience of Korean Teachers

The meaning of 'patient' to students has two aspects. One of these is the Korean teachers' reaction towards classroom management. The other is the teachers' behaviour in the teaching and learning process. Marvin, a second year mature-age

Australian student, indicated that his Korean teachers were more patient than western teachers: in the following way:

R: What do you think about the Korean teachers, Marvin?

Marvin: I think they are very patient, extremely patient.

R: Do you think so?

Marvin: I get the impression that they have to put up with much bad behaviour by western students...Teachers C and D are very patient with people messing around in class. You haven't seen that. Like last year people were talking in class all the time (University X).

Marvin's classmate Luke, an Australian student who majored in Korean and Japanese languages, had a similar view:

R: What do you think about Teacher C and D?

Luke: Teacher C and D are very patient, very understanding. They are very friendly, easy going and make students very comfortable, encouraging. I had learnt Japanese at this University and they, the Korean teachers, are a bit different.

R: How different?

Luke: Just more open and make language learning more enjoyable (University X).

Many students at University X had 'in-country' experiences in **Asia** countries, mostly in Japan, China, Korea and Indonesia with periods from 2 weeks to 2 years. Students who had live-in experiences in Asia had developed a strong concept of Asian culture and of cultural differences. Luke began his degree in law and changed to Japanese and **Asian** language studies before **taking** up Korean language. He lived in Japan from 1997 to 1998 for an 'in-country' learning experience. During the time he lived in Japan, he taught English to Japanese adults at a college

and learnt Japanese language at the same time. His 'live in Japan' experience provided a reference point for comparing Korean and Japanese people and culture. Luke was one of my key informants.

High and low achievers, particularly at University X, perceived the patience of Korean teachers as a positive support for their learning. Robin, a second year Australian student who was close to failing Korean in his first year, attributed his later success to the support for his special needs by Korean teachers. My observations confirmed that Korean teachers provided time for students to answer questions, exhibited patience with new grammar and sentence types when students struggled with them, and generally, dealt with individual student needs.

On their part, teachers felt that students are patient as well. During one of my interviews with Teacher D, she commented that:

In classrooms, I sometimes realise that they (Australian students) are very patient too. Studying with Asian teachers can be difficult for them but they are patient enough to deal with it. I thank them for that.

Without wishing to labour the point, the patience of Korean teachers can, in part, be explained by Confucianism which idealises harmony without creating intense inner tensions (Pye, 2000). Weber (1995: 65) points out that 'unlimited patience' and 'controlled politeness' are Chinese characters in Confucianism. While Weber's study was of Chinese culture, Korean and Chinese cultures are deeply influenced by Confucian ethics. I now discuss the 'polite' manners of Korean teachers.

Moreover, 'Politeness' is indicated by the following example. Andy, a third year Australian student at University X found that Korean teachers, along with other Asian language teachers, were polite to students in class. He stated that 'I like their reservedness, and they treat students with respect and good expectations. And also I like their friendliness, which they bring to the classes.'

Gloria and Rosa, second year Australian students at University Y, felt that Koreans were more polite than Westerners to students. They stated:

Rosa: I often thought Koreans were open and have a lot of similarities with Australians. But they are not as rude as we can be. They are still very gentle.

Gloria: Yes, they are still very gentle, He (Teacher B) is very gentle, very natural not like hiding anything

Rosa: Yes, I agree (University Y).

Some students believed that polite Korean teacher behaviour was based on cultural differences. Mimi commented that '...TeacherD is very polite and I think it is very unusual. With her, you would see a little bit of cultural difference because she is very polite (to students in the classroom)'. Maria, a third year Australian student at University Y, found herself constantly thinking about how to behave and talk to Asian teachers in a suitable way. She stated that:

It is hard because you go to the class for Australian teachers and you can talk fairly. And with Asian teachers I feel like it is rude. It is hard to speak to show them a lot of respect even though the language that you use, you know (University Y).

Maria was concerned that if she was impolite to her **Asian** teachers then they may consider her as rude. Thus, in a typical manner, Maria understood an explicit element of Korean culture, the hierarchical structure of teacher-student relationships based on Confucianism, but was not aware of the implicit elements of the culture. Many of Australian students I spoke to in this study had this difficulty.

Non-hierarchical manner of Korean Teachers is also discussed by the students. The students' perceptions of the Korean teachers' attitudes are similar to their perceptions of the teachers' expectations. The majority of students, regardless of background, told me that the Korean classrooms were not managed hierarchically.

Jang, a second year Hong Kong international student said:

When I compare Korean teachers to western teachers, Korean teachers are more friendly and their teaching is effective. They have time to teach you as one-to-one during break time or after class. And they are willing to help you.

But other lecturers... I found it is difficult to ask for help even though they have time. With western teachers, I am so scared to ask for help. Some of the teachers give me the impression that they are not friendly. For example, when you ask them a question after tutorials they say like they don't have time to spend on you because the tutorial is over and they have to go. It never happens with Korean teachers (University X).

Bokkyu, who is an international postgraduate student from Japan, was enrolled in the first year of Korean language. He reported that he could participate more easily with Teacher C and classmates and was more comfortable in the Korean class compared to other (western) teachers' classes. He stated:

I try to stay positive in the Korean class and it is very easy for me to do like that because I have sort of the same Asian background with the teacher. With other western teachers, it is very hard to speak out, very hard to ask questions (University X).

When considering the background of Asian International students, and recalling my own experiences as an international student in Australia, it is not surprising that most international students in this study said that they feel more comfortable interacting with Korean teachers in classroom situations. Students assumed that having an Asian background their part and that because the majority of the Korean teachers had undertaken their masters and Ph.D degrees in overseas locations, meant Korean teachers would understand and be sympathetic to their difficulties as international students. In short, the Asian international students in this study believed that Korean teachers understood them better than did western teachers. To this extent, the Asian international students were positively oriented to the Korean teachers in the sample.

Nevertheless, it was not only **Asian** international students who thought this way. Luke, a second year Australian student who was majoring in Asian studies, revealed that attitudes towards and the manner in which students were treated by the Korean teachers made them more approachable. He commented that:

Korean teachers are more approachable. Let me put it this way, some teachers seem hard to approach sometimes. There is a teacher I've been studying with about 4 years but it is still hard to approach the teacher because of his attitude. But I never feel like that with Teacher C or D. I respect them **as** teachers (University X).

This view was reinforced by Romeo and Juliet, first and third year Australian students who said that Korean teachers were more concerned about students'

learning and more enthusiastic in their attitude to teaching compared to western teachers.

Romeo: Korean teachers seem to worry when students don't know what they are doing in class while western teachers are more relaxed about it.

Juliet: Western teachers are much less enthusiastic. I think Teacher C and D are very enthusiastic because they are naturally keen to teach us (University X).

Tess, a first year Australian student, had no language learning experience until she began to study Korean. Even though she faced many difficulties in the Korean class as a full time 'working mum', she decided to continue to study Korean because she is influenced by Teacher C's supportive attitudes. Tess stated:

I don't know if it is because of his background or some special reasons. I like Teacher C's attitude, he is positive and makes **jokes** in class. It is not a strict formal environment. I think he tries to make a friendly environment and attitude in class so we can relax. With other lecturers I am not quite relaxed like that.

I haven't learnt any language before. Teacher C's attitudes encourage me to learn and study hard. I think Teacher C's attitude is really suited to the class (University X).

Most students who experienced other Asian language study, reported that Korean teachers were less strict and less demanding than other Asian teachers. David, a first year Australian Korean language student, had majored in Chinese for 3 years. As part of that experience, he had completed a one year 'in-country' study period in China when he taught English language to Chinese students at a primary school and learnt Chinese language from Chinese teachers. This extended experience provided him with a model of Chinese teaching and learning styles. He compared his experiences:

My Chinese teacher at first year, she used a 'Chinese way' of teaching. She embarrassed students in order to make students study harder. It seems this is a 'Chinese way' of doing things. So, in order not to lose face and not to be embarrassed, students did more work. But the way she was teaching in our class was uncomfortable for all of us.

Compared to my Chinese teachers, Teacher C quickly relaxed in the way he conducted class so I don't categorise him as an 'Asian' teacher. His teaching methods and the way he conducts class are appropriate for Australian students (University X).

Sophia, a second year Australian student majoring in Japanese believed that her Japanese teachers were stricter than the Korean teachers.

My Japanese teachers don't want to see us make mistakes or anything. They are really strict. But with Korean teachers, maybe it is still at a lower level... they are kind of more broad-minded and they encourage students. They are very detailed and make sure you understand (University X).

Again, Maria, a third year Australian student talked about her Japanese and Korean teachers. She complained about a particular Japanese teacher who 'doesn't use our names'. Maria went on, 'I mean maybe it is normal for Asians but we found that it is quite rude. We are getting used to it now but it's just the way she says 'You' and gives us numbers. Ohhhh...we couldn't believe it... But she is old and she is just starting to change now' (University Y).

I formed the opinion that differences in teaching behaviours between Asian teachers were easily recognised by Australian students. The descriptions of these behaviours make it clear that in multicultural **Asian** language classrooms, the teachers are evaluated by students according to perceived cultural nuances that signal difference and affinity. Cultural difference then potentially affects the effectiveness of student learning in these classrooms, especially in those situations

where the teacher **has** preconceptions about teaching and learning grounded in a particular cultural background. In such cases, like all classrooms, teaching practices reflect teachers' beliefs that are in turn a realisation of their own experiences and backgrounds (Baca and Cervantes, 1989; Cabello and Burstein, 1995; Collier, 1988; Villegas, 1991). There is some evidence that background assumptions play a role in these classrooms.

A pertinent case is that of Leonie, who **has** a Korean background. Leonie had well-established images of Korean teachers from her Korean mother's childhood stories.

My mum told me about her teachers in Korea when she was young. They were very strict with students. But Teacher **A** and **B** are not as strict teachers as teachers in Korea (University Y).

Korean background students tended to be sympathetic to strong control in class because they believe it assists student learning.

Leonie: Last semester Teacher **A** was angry once, do you remember? (question to Kate) He said to some students like 'any idiot can read this in just 2 weeks of study'. It was after about 8 weeks of teaching, and they were supposed to be capable of reading these sentences but they just managed to read the vocabulary.

R: How did you feel about it? Were you upset?

Leonie: No, I agreed with him. Because of them, our lesson was held back and Teacher **A** was frustrated about it I think. He wanted to take all of us to the next level but he had to explain the same things over and over again for some of the students (University Y).

In addition, there was a tendency for some Korean background students to perceive Korean teachers **as** authoritarian, while Australian students did not perceive them in the same way. It may well be that Korean background students like Leonie are

predisposed by their cultural heritage to expect 'authoritarian' behaviour from Koreans. During classroom observations, as the numbers of students ranged from 4 to 14, overtly authoritarian behaviours toward Korean background students would have been noticed by most students. If there are cultural differences between the teachers and students in the Korean class, the issue is whether or not such differences affect student learning. Data bearing on this issue are discussed in the following section.

To summarise, the students perceived the Korean teachers as patient, polite and non-hierarchical in their classroom management and dealings with students. They saw them as different to 'western' teachers in these dimensions. They saw subtle differences between Korean and other Asian teachers. The students were likely to perceive more differences from other Asian teachers. Cultural differences between teachers and students remain relevant, as later sections indicate.

Cultural Differences Between Korean Teachers and Australian Students in Class

Most Australian students in this study perceived that there was no major cultural difference between teachers and students that influence or interfere with teaching and learning in Korean classes. What students mean by 'no differences' between Korean teachers and Australian students relates to the way the teachers and students approach teaching and learning; the teachers' different behaviours that reflect the

teachers' culture; and teachers' and students' attitudes to general issues in the classroom.

Romeo and Juliet, first and third year Australian students, felt that even a small cultural difference in language classes could make student's learning more interesting.

Romeo: I haven't really noticed a cultural difference with Teacher C because he has been in this country for a long time. Maybe he doesn't know many expressions we Australians use but that is very infrequent. There is no real thing related to our learning environment. It is maybe a little more fun.

Juliet: I don't think there is much difference. And actually that makes our study more interesting so you can explain the cultural position of that. If students ask him something he answers how things could be different in Korea compared to Australia. It wouldn't affect our study in a negative way. It is good for cultural aspects (University X).

The majority of the students commented that while it is possible that there can be many cultural differences between the teacher and students in **Asian** language classes, differences leading to misunderstanding could be neutralised if teachers had 'positive attitudes' to Australian culture. Rod, a first year South American background student explained that:

Teacher C made a very good effort to learn Australian culture. So I don't think there is any impact or cultural shock in Korean classes. It is because maybe he made a very good effort of learning himself with Australian culture.

I know some other Korean people and found they are very difficult to deal with. So now I know that Teacher C has a very good attitude to Australian culture. There is no cultural problem between him and students (University X).

Furthermore, Rod indicated that 'respect' is the significant bridge between the two cultures. He found that Teacher C respects and adopts Australian culture and attitudes accordingly. Rod stated:

When you look at other Asian departments like some of the Japanese courses, they look too like Asian. They look strict but Teacher C is like, 'have a go'! I don't know if he consciously looks more Australian rather than like other Asian teachers in other Asian departments.

I have two Japanese teachers and they behave more like Asians compared to Teacher C. They are still behaving like Japanese but Teacher C is more like an Australian. Australian society is included in his attitudes, that's the way he is (University X).

The area where cultural differences play a part with Australian students is that of personal matters. While Australian students know how to deal with personal matters with their teachers, they are reluctant to speak to Korean teachers. For example, Marvin, a second year mature-age Australian student at University X commented on an emergency childcare matter at examination time.

I have two daughters and they live with their mum and this time last year they all disappeared without contact. I had to find them and go to court right on exam time at uni. So I had to see my lecturers and explain what's happening. And I thought does Teacher C want to know this, or I should say I just have some problems? But what problems? Everybody has problems. So to western teachers, I had to tell them the detail of the problems because they said like 'it's got to be good'. But I didn't know if Teacher C would feel comfortable or embarrassed by telling him my family stuff. Eventually I told him that and if it embarrassed him well..,that's too bad. But I had to give him the reason why I couldn't study. He was very helpful by the way (University X).

Similarly, Rob, a first year South American background student at University X had reservations about revealing his personal situation to Korean teachers.

I told all my western teachers about my divorce and they told me ‘come and see me’. But so far the only thing I said to Teacher C is that ‘I have a problem so I am unable to study at the time’ (University X).

These episodes illustrate different responses by different students to perceived attributes of teachers. Austrahn students worried about Korean teachers judging them according to Korean cultural standards, while Korean background students were anxious about the standards learned from their parents. In order to further establish the background to the classrooms, I now show how students perceive their Korean language learning and Korean teachers and how they create expectations of their teachers

Part two: Perceptions And Expectations About Teachers By Students

Students’ perceptions of Korean Teachers’ Expectations Towards Korean Background Students

I argued earlier that teachers’ beliefs, personal experiences, education background, expectations and cultural background shape their teaching behaviours. It will be recalled that there is a long tradition in educational research that teachers are guided by their beliefs about what students need, and by expectations about how students will respond if treated in particular ways (Good and Brophy, 1997, 2000, 2002). Moreover, that literature suggests that teachers’ expectations have the potential to influence students’ academic performances and motivation to learn.

Both Australian and Korean background students expected that Korean teachers would have higher expectations of the latter. Thus, Calvin, a first year Korean background student, believed that his teacher treated all students equally, yet at the same time he believed that his teacher had a higher expectation of him because of his Korean background.

For speaking I guess (he has high expectations). At the beginning of semester I had a test with him and he actually knows my dad and also he knows my background so he wants me to do well. He said I can learn very quickly which I don't. He thinks I should do well (University X).

Many of Calvin's fellow students did not know that Calvin had a Korean background because his appearance. However, some students who knew about Calvin's Korean mother did comment that their teacher probably had a higher expectation of Calvin.

David: Teacher C doesn't say like you need to do this or do that, he doesn't give us pressure. There is one guy in our class, his father is a Korean lecturer, and his mother is Korean. For him, Calvin, Teacher C might have high expectations.

R: Because he has a Korean background?

David: Because his mum is Korean and his father is a Korean lecturer. And he used to live in Korea when he was young. I don't think his mum speaks much Korean at home. But he could learn much more quickly (than other students in class)(University X).

Nevertheless, Calvin's classmates were not concerned about favouritism because they believed that all students received equivalent support and encouragement regardless of their grades or performance in class.

In contrast, where the proportion of Korean background students in the class is larger, students appeared to be sensitive to the teacher's expectations of them. In interviews I conducted in one of the sample universities, Australian, Korean background and Asian international students repeatedly remarked that Korean teachers have higher expectations of Korean background students. Kate, a Japanese background student who immigrated with her family to Australia when she was a young child, expressed it this way:

I am not Korean but I can see that they (Korean teachers) expect quite a lot from the (Korean) students. I know what expectations they have for her (Leonie) being Korean. Her last name is Kim. Everyone who has 'Kim' as family name has a Korean background. They (Korean teachers) expect so much from Scott, Leonie and Michael (Korean background students in the first year class) (University Y).

During my classroom observations in first and third year lessons, I noticed that Teacher A continuously asked more high-level questions of Korean background students compared to the others. By 'high level' I mean more difficult types of sentences with complicated grammar and difficult vocabulary. Teacher A also tended to ask Korean background students the meaning of new words more often. Korean background students agreed that they were more likely to know more new words than the other students because they learnt them at home from their parents or family members who have a Korean background. The following example of how a written exercise was altered illustrates my point.

Sentence to be completed orally:

"How much is an apple at Hyundai supermarket?"

The teacher changed the form and type, and asked Leonie, a Korean background student, the following complex question:

“Which supermarket sells peaches most cheaply?”

This teacher appeared to reinforce the students’ perceptions when asking individual students textbook exercise questions in a first year class. To Korean background students he said things such as, ‘... Let me ask you a difficult question. I know your background’. When I interviewed this teacher later, he stated that ‘... students who have a Korean parent, or parents, are likely to learn Korean faster than other students’. He also believed that Korean background students generally ‘have good pronunciation’. This he attributed to the Korean language input a Korean child enjoys in the home environment, This teacher argued that home background makes a significant difference in Korean language learning.

I interpret these episodes as Korean teachers making judgements about Korean background students in comparison to other students. These students are judged to be faster learners by dint of their background in Korean language learning. Moreover, my observations suggest that the teachers reinforce these perceived advantages by differential pedagogical moves. To illustrate this proposition, I deal with responses from Korean background students regarding Korean teachers’ different expectations toward them next.

Leonie, a first year Korean background student, set out the different expectations of the teacher with the following words:

Even though when they ask me questions, they try to make it a little bit harder for Scott (a Korean background student) or me. And sometimes I know it, I've learn it at home but if I have to learn it like everybody else I shouldn't be at that level (to answer these questions). **So** sometimes when they ask me questions I'm just dumfounded. **So** maybe they want to push me harder or expect more from me. Yes, I think it is more than what they are expecting from someone (University Y).

Martin, a first year Australian student, saw this clearly. He explained why he felt that Korean teachers expected more from Korean background students:

Like, Korean kids with one Korean parent or Korean students should be doing better than English speakers because we (Australians) don't have a second language... these students, the teachers expect more from them than they would from me, especially if they speak Korean at home. But I don't think they expect so much from me at all (University Y).

Martin went on to say:

Some people are naturally intelligent. Others work so hard. Others well... their parents are Korean or they have Korean friends. **So** it's much harder for us. They should realise that we don't have the background... I don't feel really positive. I've been really struggling but they haven't noticed (University Y).

Annie, a second year Korean background student felt that it was 'natural' that Korean teachers should have higher expectations of Korean background students in the classroom. She argued that:

It is expected like that because we share the same cultural background... Maybe it shouldn't be that way but it does happen. I don't thnk there is anything wrong with that (University Y).

Masa, an international Japanese student married to a native Korean, experienced a dflerent kind of expectation from the Korean teachers. Korean teachers seem to expect more from students who have a relationship with native Koreans in their

home environments which includes having Korean native parents, other family members like an uncle, a wife or husband.

My assessment is that most of the non-Korean background students in this study were aware of the reality that Korean students and Korean teachers shared the same cultural background and that shared background influences teaching and learning. They perceived that on the basis of this shared knowledge, teachers' expectations can be different for Korean background students. Indeed, the Australian students in this study accepted this as 'fact', as if it was a part of an Asian language course that cannot be avoided. A statement of Marie, a third year Australian student reflects how Australian students felt about this cultural issue between the Korean teachers, Korean background students, and Australian students 'They are doing Korean and they are Korean so I guess they do expect more anyway at the different levels'.

It is perhaps then it is not a surprise that the Korean background students in this study, generally, are likely to be satisfied with the expectations of Korean teachers. They anticipate high expectations and, accordingly, they tend to perform at the level expected of them. Moreover, the Korean background students tended to play the roles offered to them by the Korean teachers' as they interpreted and understood the invisible pedagogy in the Korean language classroom. Similarly, the majority of Australian students understood their role despite the prognosis that they would be disadvantaged. When I rehearsed these scenarios with Korean background students, they generally denied that they were advantaged by the teacher's higher expectations of them. Students without Korean backgrounds,

Australian and Asian students, strongly disagreed with the Korean background students' position.

Despite the fact that the Korean background students agreed the Korean teachers had higher expectations of them in class and that they had the advantage of practicing Korean language skills at home with native Korean speaker(s), they regarded their Korean language learning situation to be just like any other non-Korean background student. It was repeatedly reported to me by the Korean background students that they do not see how their better performance was at least partly the result of the interaction between language circumstances at home and their Korean teachers' higher expectations of them. In the theoretical terms of this thesis, the Korean background students either failed to see, or elected to ignore, the patterns of classroom classification and framing.

Annie, a second generation Korean background student, however, saw the individual differences in the situation of Korean background students. She conceded that in a university setting where there is competition for grades, it is possible for non-Korean background students to feel that the situation is unfair to them.

Yes, I think they could say it is unfair but ...depending on us, the Korean students, we could have absolutely no knowledge of Korean so it depends on them. Because [if] they (Korean background students) have no knowledge of Korean [language] then they are like Australian students (University Y).

Annie's scenario in fact was exemplified by Leonie who could speak Korean at a university course level but did not know how to write Korean. Consequently, she was enrolled in the first year class of the Korean program alongside other students who had no knowledge of either speaking or writing.

It is not altogether unexpected that non-Korean background students felt that classes containing Korean background students were ineffective for them. They perceived that Korean background students not only had a better understanding of the teachers' input but also they are likely to learn faster than other students. Mejin and Cindy remembered their second year Korean language learning, with many Korean background students in the same class.

Mejin: Because when I was second year, there were so many Korean students and Miss P (a previous teacher who is not included in this study) wasn't really eager to do more work. She just read chapters and she didn't make us speak (Korean) and she didn't care about it if students didn't understand. Most of the students could understand because they speak fairly good Korean,

Cindy: But we (Australian and international students) didn't understand (University Y).

Another side to this general issue was picked up in the idea of Korean-background and perhaps some other-Asian background students gaining 'easy marks'. This possibility is crucial because while it suits the ends of Korean background students and their families, it affects the learning performance of non-Korean background students. Thus, Cindy, a third year Australian students, and Mejin, Japanese international students, complained particularly about 'easy riders' in Korean classrooms:

Cindy: I think a lot of them (Korean background students) pretend not to speak Korean well to get a good mark. But none of us are like their standard or anything. Most of them are economics students and just study Korean to get extra marks, easy, easy credit you know. **So** they pretend not to know that stuff. They try to get the lowest level they can, just a pass or something.

Mejin: Yeah, pretend to. I am sure even like there is a huge gap among these Korean students, some of them come a long extremely well and others are not good...they're good at conversation though. They never learn how to read or write but they speak ... some of Korean students speak really good Korean even better than their English (University Y).

On my follow-up visit to the field site in second semester 1999, I found that Scott, one of the best Korean language learners, had dropped out of the Korean class. Kate, Scott's old classmate, explained that Scott was revealed to be a fluent Korean speaker:

Scott was seen by some classmates speaking fluently to Korean people. And then in the middle of last semester, all of sudden he dropped out. I guess he was too embarrassed to come to the class (University Y).

Kate recalled that some of his classmates had noticed Scott reading sentences more slowly in class than he was able to. Justin, an Australian student who was evaluated as one of the top students in the Korean class, described the situation as 'unfair' to students who study hard. Justin explained how many hours he studied to prepare himself for the Korean tests in class and how much effort many students put into Korean language learning, yet students like Scott received the highest scores.

When this scenario was put to a teacher, he admitted that he noticed Scott faked his Korean ability in the middle of the semester. He confided that it was difficult for

teachers to diagnose a Korean background student language level, stating that ‘if Korean background students try to fake their Korean language level in order to gain easy marks, it is almost impossible for teachers to discover their intentions over a few minutes conversation with them’.

The classification rules that operate in these classrooms are illustrated by teacher feedback. The Korean background students seemed to receive comments that are associated with high expectations compared to Australian or Asian international students. Martin, a first year Australian student, stated: ‘I get 10 out of 20 and they say, like, “more improvement is needed” or something like that’. On the other hand, fellow Korean background student Leonie received a comment that indicates she ‘can do better’ in her Korean language learning from one of her Korean teachers. She, however, was not pleased by it. She explained that:

Like my last test he made a comment like ‘I know you can do better’. How does he know that? If I didn’t study then it is fair enough but it was like 15 out of 20 so I had 5 wrong answers. But he wrote ‘I know you can do better’. I know I can do better but what if that was my best? **So** I assume that he wants me to have more knowledge than someone else. If someone has 15 out of 20 then it is a very good mark but he wrote ‘you **can** do better’ (University Y).

Leonie’s experience suggests that high teacher expectations can have unanticipated side effects. She was a high achiever in the Korean language class but felt uncomfortable with the teacher’s high expectations. She felt that the more she tried to perform well in the class and get good grades in tests, the more her teacher expected from her. She constantly felt that her teacher was not satisfied with her performance. Consequently, she started to wonder if she would ever meet the

teacher's expectations. She felt under continuous pressure to achieve while her classmates seemed relaxed in their performances in the Korean class.

These patterns of classroom interaction directly impinged on her definition of the classroom situation and its meanings. Brophy and Good (1986: 370) state that 'students are likely to have more positive attitudes toward moderately demanding teachers than toward highly demanding teachers'. Teachers' excessively high expectations of students can be as damaging as very low expectations.

In other words, teachers' supportive and positive expectations of students are more welcomed by students. It appeared that the Korean teachers at University X frequently talked to their students about their language learning styles and strategies, and advised them on how to improve weak areas of language learning. Most students recalled that they had a meeting with Teacher C at the beginning of the course. At that meeting Teacher C undertook a needs survey to identify each student's plan for Korean language study, their **plans** for learning a major in Korean or studying for personal interest or as a compulsory subject. During the semester Teacher C monitored the students' progress and maintained their motivation by frequently talking to students and giving them encouragement.

For example, Janet, a second year Australian student who majored in law and Korean language, remembered a meeting she had with Teacher C at the end of semester in her first year course. She stated that Teacher C started the meeting commenting on her good result in a spoken test rather than her less successful

written test. Then he explained her good result was because she had a 'creative mind' and she agreed with him. She stated that '...that is true. When it comes to grammatical patterns I don't learn easily. But in speaking, when I speak Korean such as interactive speaking then I can do much better'. Janet was pleased the way Teacher C helped her study.

That really helped me. I could understand my thinking as well and the way I **am** learning the language. And I believe it also relates to my law study as well like relationships with people so I liked how he did that (University X).

Korean teachers at University X appeared to be supportive of low achieving students as well. In each class there were students struggling with their performance, however, they were offered support from their teachers in and outside of class. Tess is a good example. She, a first year Australian student, had difficulty in learning Korean from the beginning of the semester. As a conference organiser in overseas, Tess frequently had to go on trips overseas so she was absent from many Korean classes. In the middle of the semester she found herself behind in the class compared to other students. She described herself in Korean class as:

I am always nervous when I **am** going to the class. I try to learn all the new words and do the exercises in class. But I **am** always panicking especially when we are doing exercises because the other students seem to be good (University X).

When Tess was struggling with her Korean language learning, Teacher C approached her first to help her to study. She stated:

He initially offered help and then I approached to him to ask when he had time and to get my personal tutor outside of school stuff **like** that. And then he approached me and suggested things for my study.

After class Teacher C listened to me in Korean like I read through things in Korean so he figures how I am going in class. And he also gave me flexibility to do my exam. He gave me a chance to study for 2 weeks before my exam.

And I asked him I'd like to have a personal Korean tutor and he found someone for me. Often he gave me supportive comments and said try to relax and enjoy it. And he asks me how I am going with my study (University X).

Marvin had a similar experience to Tess. Marvin was a second year Australian student who has difficulties with learning in Korean classrooms. He had no second language learning experiences, whereas many of his classmates are majoring in Asian languages. He was also a mature student at the age of 36 while most of his classmates were just over 20 years old. Marvin described the Korean classes as 'a big surprise'. Marvin reported that:

R: Do you think the Korean teachers more pay attention to high achievers than low achievers?

Marvin: I am the low achiever in the class and I am pretty much at the bottom of the class. It is very difficult to keep up with young people. So maybe I am the best qualified to answer the question. I don't think they focus on high achievers. That's good I wish my other lecturers also had those kinds of teaching skills (University X).

In summary, there is a tendency for Korean language students to perceive that Korean language teachers have a higher expectation of Korean background students compared to Australian or Asian international students and the students recognise this pattern of behaviours in the Korean teachers. In this way, the classification and framing of the classroom is stronger for each student. Depending on the consequences of this situation, non-Korean background students might be affected in Korean language learning because of the invisible pedagogy that works against their interests. I now pursue this possibility.

Non-Korean Background Students' Perceptions of Korean Teachers' Expectations

Non-Korean background students at both universities perceived that the Korean teachers did not have high expectations of them. However, when I asked non-Korean background students if the Korean teachers had a high expectation of them individually and personally, their answers were affirmative. The statements of Romeo and Juliet, first and third year Australian students, show teacher expectations of students **as** a group.

Juliet: I think Teacher C is more like relaxed but you still want to learn because he is so keen on it.

R: What do you think Romeo?

Romeo: Yes that's true. He doesn't expect too much, he doesn't put much pressure on us. He doesn't say it is what we are going to do and get to the end by the end of the week things like that. We are trying to finish but even though we can't finish it doesn't matter. **So** his expectations in class are not serious I guess. ...he doesn't expect so much but Teacher C pushed everyone with different expectations so they could reach their own level.

Juliet: We were not that good with the subject (Korean language learning) so Teacher C didn't really expect much from us because he knew that that was the best we could do with the subject. His expectations were low about other students and me but he still expected us to learn too and do better (University X).

As their statements show, Romeo and Juliet perceived that generally the Korean teachers did not hold high expectations of students as a group. When they were asked about teachers' expectations of them personally, they made different comments. They both believed that the Korean teachers had high expectations of them.

R: Then what kind of expectations do your Korean teachers have about you personally?

Romeo: I think Teacher C might have high expectation of me by now because I've handled work pretty well in class and sometimes quite well. *So* he might expect me to keep the level up. *So* there is a little bit of pressure I guess.

If something goes wrong like a little assessment and if I didn't do it very well, then he asks me like 'what is wrong? Did you have an off day?' He wants to know if there is a changing of position. *So* I think he expects me to perform more than some other people. I don't know what expectations he has about other students but I don't think I would come last (University X).

Bokkyu, a first year **Asian** international student from Japan who had also majored in Chinese, had a similar response to Romeo and Juliet. He believed that Korean teachers did not hold high expectations of students, yet at a personal level, each felt good about the teachers' expectations of them and they believed their Korean teachers trusted their ability to learn Korean.

Bokkyu: I don't think he has high expectations. Basically he teaches Korean to Australians, which is already very difficult. He doesn't push us to study too hard which is good. He depends on each person and they study well.

R: Then what kind of expectations does Teacher C have about you personally?

Bokkyu: He thinks I should try harder then I can be one of the better students. He thinks it depends on me, as long as I study very hard he will help me as much as possible. When I ask him one tiny question he answers back with other knowledge too. For every student he has **minimum** expectations (University X).

These and earlier observations about student and teacher interactions suggest that there are three mechanisms involved in the process of teachers' expectations of students. The mechanisms are briefly summarised.

First, student satisfaction with the teaching learning process is paramount. Most of the students believed that their Korean language ability was progressing as they moved up to higher levels. They perceived this progress to be the result of their Korean teachers' teaching style and lesson structure compared to other language teachers. John, an Australian student who had majored in Indonesian language for 3 years commented that '...the patterns and introduction of lesson are good. He is using a good teaching method in class like using lots of pictures and Power Point. It is fun to learn'. Students evaluated these materials aimed at making their study much more enjoyable as evidence that the teacher was well disposed towards them and was competent.

Second, students tended to like the Korean teachers as people. Many Australian and **Asian** international students in this study commented to me that they had a good relationship with the Korean teachers. My observation also confirmed that there were several opportunities when the teachers and the students had a 'get together' through the semester. These events included joint Korean international students night a dinner at a university building on Friday evenings (which I attended). Students prepared Korean foods and after dinner, Korean language learners and Korean international students played games together. Another social occasion was provided by a Korean lecturer who invited her second year students to her house for a Korean dinner every year in order to show students Korean traditional foods and how to cook them. These meetings help Korean teachers

glean a better understanding of their students and students perceive that the teachers are interested in their study.

Third, students perceived that teachers treat their students equally regardless of their academic grade, gender or nationality. The link to the theory of Hargraves with this finding data is shown in next chapter, Conclusion.

Students' Perceptions of Korean Teachers' high/low/Positive/Negative Expectations Toward Students

I asked two different kinds of questions about teachers' expectations for students. First, I asked students about what they perceived Korean teacher expectations of them. Students described Korean teacher expectations of students either high or low. Second, then I asked if they perceived that these expectations were positive or negative. Students perceived that 'positive' expectations were different to 'high' expectations and that 'negative' expectations were different to 'low' expectations. I now report on these student views of the Korean teacher expectations.

My estimation is that most students perceived differences between teachers' high and positive expectations and low and negative expectations. For instance, they distinguished teacher expectations in such behaviours as the amount of work a teacher asks of students, the pressure that a teacher creates on students in the learning and teaching process and comments a teacher makes in the course of classes and in feedback. Most Australian and Asian international students in this

study perceived that Korean teachers did not have high expectations of them, but believed that the Korean teachers hold positive expectations of their capacity to perform.

A common belief amongst students is that their Korean teachers enjoy teaching Korean language and culture to Australian students as much as students enjoy learning Korean. Peter, a first year Australian student, described the expectations of his Korean teachers at high school as follows:

They (Korean teachers) seem to enjoy the fact that Aussie kids are learning another language and that it happens with their language. They are all smiling and they love to ask us good questions. They are very positive (University X).

Students commonly perceived that the teacher's positive expectations of them through the classroom atmosphere that the teacher created. Many students at University X, believed that the Korean teachers did not expect students to study hard or do a large amount of study, but nevertheless, they remained optimistic that students would do well.

Terry suggested that what distinguished his Korean classes from Japanese classes that he had experienced to a high level of capability was pressure. Japanese teachers, he explained, expected students to keep up with a large volume of work and assignments and they often set tests so that students were compelled to study constantly. In this visible pedagogy (Bernstein, 1990), teachers expect students to perform according to expectations that are clearly stated. In the Korean class, it is different he said, 'the pressure isn't there'. He stated that:

He, (teacher) doesn't give us tests in every lesson and we don't do assignments everyday. *So* the Korean class is more relaxed, but still we are covering a lot of work and reviewing each lesson...I **am** enjoying what we are learning. He tries to keep the class positive, everyone in class enjoys themselves and is relaxed and is comfortable speaking Korean and comfortable with using the grammar we've learned. He is very positive in that way. He expects every student to talk to the other students and get along well with everyone (University X).

Thus, student comments about Korean teachers' 'positive' expectations, are commonly associated with 'encouragement'.

Juliet: They have to have that (positive expectation of students). They can't just lay back and expect us to learn Korean.

Romeo: Teacher C doesn't expect all of us reach a high level but believes in every student and encourages him or her to achieve his or her own goal. He knows your own ability regarding the subject and supports you to make progress in your own ability (University X).

Gloria, an Australian student, said that, 'I wouldn't say it is terribly high or low because it's an encouraging sort of atmosphere'. In any case, Gloria summed up her teacher's expectations for her as 'He, Teacher B, is very concerned how well I am going'. Rosa, another Australian student, believed that her Korean teachers expectations are '...not too demanding but certainly it is positive. He (teacher) encourages you and encouragement means "positive"'. These statements show how students interpret a connection between encouragements and positive expectations from a teacher.

Nevertheless many Australian and International students perceived that they received positive expectations, they did not always consider these expectations as high expectations. In fact, many Australian students felt that the Korean teachers

did not have expectations as high as other Asian language teachers. The students who were satisfied with the Korean teachers' positive expectations of themselves are likely not to be concerned about receiving high expectations from their Korean teachers. However, in general, there was a tendency that the Korean background students had a perceptions that they were received high expectations from the Korean teachers compared to Australian or other Asian international students. These characteristics are fundamental to the logic of invisible pedagogy working to distribute knowledge differently to different students in the classroom. This data suggest that the consciousness of students is differentially determined in their individual cases of classroom interaction with teachers.

To summarise, the major finding so far is that students, Australian and Asian international students in this study perceived that the Korean teachers did not have high expectations of students. The Korean background students seem to be a special case. If these interpretations are correct, at the most general level, there is an invisible pedagogy for Korean background students and a visible pedagogy for non-Korean students operating in these Korean language classrooms. Nevertheless, students at both universities were more than likely to describe Korean teachers' expectations as 'positive' expectations rather than 'high' expectations. This finding raises the following questions about how students in Korean language classes perceive these differences between Korean, Australian and Asian teachers' expectations.

Students' Perceptions of Differences Between The Korean, Australian and other Asian Teachers' Expectations

Students had different perceptions of the expectations of Korean and western teachers. The majority of the students at both universities perceived that Australian and other Asian teachers had higher expectations than Korean teachers. Similarly, the students at both universities commonly told me that other Asian teachers had higher expectations than the Korean teachers. These perceptions are set out in Table 8.

Table 8. Students' Responses About Teacher Expectations of Students (The Differences Students Perceive Between the Expectations of Korean, Asian and Western Teachers)

	Korean Teachers	Asian Teachers	Western Teachers
University X	Korean teachers have higher expectations of students than western	Other Asian teachers have higher expectations than the Korean teacher – 92.8%	Western teachers have higher expectations of students than Korean teachers - 49.9%
University Y	Korean and western teachers have a similar expectations of	Other Asian teachers have higher expectations than the Korean teachers – 92.3%	Western teachers have higher expectations of students than Korean teachers – 30.5%

Western Teacher Expectations of Students Are Higher Than The Expectations of Korean Teachers

Students believed that Australian teachers had higher expectations than Korean teachers. The most common explanation of this view is that Korean teachers did not expect Australian students to learn Korean quickly or to achieve high levels of proficiency because of the lack of familiarity with Korean language and culture. As Luke pointed out,

I guess French or German is more related to English and they can be learnt more easily. But Korean has different grammatical patterns and characters. And other departments like Japanese or Chinese, many students have been to Japan or China for 1 or 2 years. So they already have a lot of background knowledge which is unusual in the Korean department. In Korean class, everybody is equal, no background knowledge. We are all at the same level (University X).

Students perceived that students are equal in Korean language classrooms that do not include Korean background students. However, in classrooms where Korean background students are included such as University Y, as students pointed out, there were several different levels of language capability in most classes where there were Korean and other Asian students studying with Australian students. Mejin, a third year Japanese international student at University Y, stated that ‘...students’ levels are so different. We don’t know what sort of thing they (Korean teachers) are expecting from us’. It is reasonable to assume then that the definition of the situation for different students is different and that the experiences of Korean language learning differs according to cultural background and the

consequential effects of teacher expectations as they are perceived by students.

This interpretation is exemplified in Luke's comments.

Luke: I don't think they (Korean teachers) expect us to pick it up so quickly.

R: Why do you think that?

Luke: I think it is the attitude of Koreans I meet. They are really surprised that we are interested in Korea or surprised we are even learning Korean. *So* maybe it is a Korean thing, because in Korean history not many Westerners learn Korean. And Korean language is different from English...

Korean teachers' expectations are that we can't be expected to get far in learning. I mean I can feel that, it is purely a Korean cultural thing. And Korean teachers have expectations that also influence their attitudes at university. I think its their expectations...Korean teachers think it is a difficult language so they do not expect Australtan students to pick it up so quickly (University X).

Cindy and Mejin reported that why they believed western teachers have higher expectations than Korean teachers. They stated:

Cindy: Western teachers in this University in any department expect us to be up there and they expect us to keep studying like this is your University so you have to study at University level. But Korean is not quite like that. It is less than that. They don't expect so much from students (performances).

Mejin: I **am** doing French. In French study, they are all western teachers. They expect a lot.

Cindy: My other subjects like computer or Math... because it is so big we don't have personal relationships with teachers or anything like that. We have to do the work and if you are behind then you just have to pay off. But in Korean class it's not like that way. We still pass all the time (University Y).

Australian students found that the Korean teachers' low expectations of students reflect a common reaction that any Korean person would have towards Australian students who **learn** Korean. The students experienced that, unlike other Asian

languages such as Japanese or Chinese, Korean people were surprised by the fact that Australian students study Korean. In other words, what Australian students believed is that the Korean teachers did not establish a high level of expectation of students because of their pre-perceptions regarding the difficulty of Korean language for Australian students.

Monica and Sandy remembered that Teacher C compared their level of Korean learning with other Asian students when they were in the first year. Monica described that situation:

Monica: Last year, Teacher C always talked about the level we were learning in Korean class but we did nothing (laugh). You know he compared us to other Japanese and other language classes and what they were doing. They seemed to be doing so much more and he didn't think we were doing enough...Yes, compared to other Asian languages I think it is pretty low.

Sandy: It's been harder this (second) year but we are still doing our minimum work (with Korean language study) and we seem to be doing OK (University X).

Even though many students believed that Western teachers and other Asian teachers had higher expectations of students than Korean teachers, the relationship of this view to their perceptions of Korean teachers and Korean studies differs significantly. Many students at University X believed their Korean teachers did not have high expectations yet they were satisfied with the Korean teachers' (positive) expectations of them and believed that their Korean language learning was progressing. On the contrary, some students were concerned the fact that the Korean teachers had lower expectations of students compared to western and other Asian teachers.

Korean And Australian Teachers Have Similar Expectations of Students

The second largest number of students from University Y and the third largest number of students from University X responded that Korean and western teachers have similar expectations of students. In addition, although students at University X perceived that there were no differences in relation to the expectations by Korean and western teachers, they noticed that Korean and western teachers had different categories of expectations. Many Australian students at University X particularly indicated categories of expectations between Korean and western teachers for three reasons.

First is that Korean teachers' expectations are more individualised due to the small class sizes. Australian students student at University X, found that Korean teachers' expectations were more personal than the expectations of the western teachers. Eva, a third year Australian student, indicated that the main reason was because of the small size of the class. She stated that:

I think that the expectations from my other subjects are probably not as personal as Korean teachers. They know me and have expectations of what I **am** doing whereas my western teachers tend to have expectations depending on what the class will do. Probably they have similar expectations about how hard I would work for subjects and then it is up to me to study (University X).

Students in this study also felt that the small size of Korean classes gave students a chance to receive more personal attention from teachers. Because Korean teachers paid more attention to individual students, Korean teachers were seen as having

positive expectation levels. Students benefit in the form of better performances in Korean class. Moreover, Alice indicated that good performance in studying begins with the level of motivation to achieve. Thus, once students show interest in the subject or want to study more, the teachers increase their support and become helpful. Therefore, in the small Korean language class, students could expect more help from teachers than in other classes.

Second is the difference in teaching styles, according to the type of subjects. Students distinguished between language classes and other subjects. Different teaching style of Korean language classroom according to the type of subject was discussed in the cultural differences between Korean and other Asian teachers in Australia in the previous theme. Many students in this study again made connection between different teaching style according to the type of subject and Korean teacher expectation of students. They frequently commented that because of the nature of the subject matter, the study in language classes is different from the study in other general subjects.

Third is the difference in relation to the culture and personality of Korean teachers. Many students at University X tended to link cultural differences to teachers' expectations. Mimi, a third year Australian student, believed that the different cultural background and personality of teachers made a difference to teachers' expectations of students in class. She stated:

The traditionally eastern Asia country seems to be full of hard workers and they are pushed all the time. If you have a teacher coming from eastern

Asia then he or she would push students really hard. And then the teacher would find students in Australia don't work, well, it is true. Australians don't study as hard as Asian students (University X).

Asian international students also showed a similar response regarding Korean teachers' expectations. Japanese international students at University X reported that there was no difference between western teachers and Korean teachers' expectations. Asian international students in general seemed not only comfortable with the fact that they had a similar background of cultural understanding to that of the Korean teachers but also recognised that they could benefit from it.

Korean Teachers' Expectations Are Higher Than Western Teachers

Many Australian students at University X found that Australian teachers were more 'relaxed' and 'laid back' while Korean teachers **asked** students to do more work. At University X, students who responded that the Korean teachers' expectations were higher than those of the western teachers were mostly in their second year.

Teacher C was considered to be a relaxed Korean teacher who had an Australian teacher's attitude to students, while Teacher D was perceived by students as a teacher who had high expectations. This was because Teacher D managed her second year Korean lessons mainly in Korean language. The amount of her Korean input for students in class was extraordinary. During my research for this study and my previous pilot studies, she was the only Korean teacher who exposed the students to a large amount of Korean language in class. Many students found it difficult to understand her Korean and further they considered Teacher D had high

expectations, or at least she had higher expectations than Teacher C. My observations suggest that it was related to Teacher D's teaching approach and style, the way she delivered the language to students, rather than her expectations of students. Unlike other teachers in this study, she spoke Korean not only for reading sentences or asking questions that based on the textbook but also for classroom activities directions, and explanation before she used English to assist students' understanding what was going on in the classroom with their task,

English was used by Teacher D only in order to assist students' understanding after her explanation in Korean. On her part, Teacher D believed that her Korean input was important in class because students were more likely to learn Korean by hearing and speaking it. Accordingly, she used Korean language and she expected students to respond by achieving a higher than usual level of language competence.

Thus, she stated:

I try to speak a lot of Korean to students in class instead using English. I had a small research about Korean language study in Korea by asking students who went to Korea as an exchange program. And I found that the teachers' Korean input in class is extraordinary. From the day one they attend class the teachers use Korean only. In Australia, we teach students in English so students can have correct understanding all the time. Compared to Korea, Korean teachers in Australia let students relax a lot by using English in class. I always **try** to use Korean to students as much **as** possible as I can in order to push students' for higher level.

Only very few students who had studied language for several years and worked as language teachers understood Teacher D's intention. For example, Sophia, a second year Australian student, who was teachmg Japanese language at a primary

school, indicated that Teacher D's Korean input indicated a different style of teaching language.

I think she speaks a lot of Korean so we can get used to listening to Korean. If she expects us to understand her Korean she would say things only once and move on. But she says sentences in different ways until we can kind of understand. In Japanese classes we only use Japanese so if you don't understand then it is too bad you know. It is your problem. But Teacher D takes time and she just wants us to hear Korean and I think it is really good thing (University X).

However, most of the students did not see Teacher D's intention and considered her Korean input as have high expectations. The comparison of Teachers C and D showed that there were differences in how students perceived the Korean teachers' expectations based on their teaching style. This applies not only to Korean teachers but also to western teachers as well.

Teachers' Expectations of Students Depends On Teachers

Very few students at both universities answered that teachers' expectations of students were based on teachers' personality and satisfaction with their job as teachers, rather than on nationality. Kate, a first year Japanese background student stated:

I think the teachers' personality comes into it (expectations of students) too. They come from different countries and their own personal teaching methods as well. Some teachers are good teachers and some are not (University Y).

Peter, a first year Australian student, found that teachers who **liked** their job were likely to have high or positive expectations as well as good relationships with students. He stated that:

There is a difference between teachers, between the western group of teachers and the Korean group of teachers. For example, some of them basically walk in and smile like this (shows me a big smile on his face). But some of them are just there. They don't want to be there, they don't smile or laugh.

And that is the same with western teachers. Some teachers are basically in their job to get some kind of money. They don't really want to do it. But there are teachers who like teaching. They are more likely having a good relationship with students (University X).

This response was the least frequent response at both universities. The statements of Kate and Peter showed that some students understood the background of teachers' occupation and how it affected teachers' teaching methods as well as teacher-student relationship. Few students at either university, however, believed that teachers' expectations of students were based on factors such as personality or job satisfaction, rather than the teachers' cultural backgrounds.

In summary, the most frequent and common response of students at both universities was that western teachers' expectations of students were higher than the Korean teachers' expectations. The second largest number of students at University X claimed that the Korean teachers had higher expectations of students than western teachers. However, these responses hardly appeared at University Y. The students at University Y rather believed that the level of expectation of Korean and Australian teachers was similar.

The main reason that students have different perceptions at each of the universities was that Korean teachers had different teaching styles and level of support for students' learning. The students' satisfaction with their Korean language studies

was influenced by their perceptions of the teachers' expectations of their students' performance. Moreover, students' self-expectations about Korean language learning was also a strong factor for students' understanding of teachers' expectations of them. In the next section, I discuss the Korean language learners' self-expectations regarding their Korean language studies.

Students' Self-Expectations of Their Korean Language Studies

A student's perceptions of a teacher's expectations of them was identified in Chapter III as an important influence on a student's self-expectation. I report data on this aspect of the theory in what follows.

The Korean background students at both universities in this study displayed very similar self-expectations regarding their Korean language studies. Their expectations are affected by three factors. The influence of pressure from parents to perform well in Korean language studies and other Korean-focused subjects is a powerful determinant of self-expectations. The Korean culture contains strong filial values and a high level of respect for education. The cultural pressure for Korean background students is that they have a duty to be successful in Korean language studies because, as one informant put it, '...they are Korean and study Korean'. Success at Korean study is more like an obligation resulting from being Korean, rather than national pride in studying Korean. Calvin, a first year Korean background student had a positive attitude about Korean language studies, yet still considered it a duty to study Korean.

I feel I have to study Korean well. I should learn my mother tongue. When I see my relatives in Korea they can only speak Korean. So it is not only embarrassing I can't speak Korean but also it is hard to talk to them. I feel I really want to learn Korean. I will go to Korea for study about a year. I wanted to learn it for a long time and now I have my opportunity so I am pretty motivated (University X).

Such value motivation is especially salient when Korean teachers reaffirm the underlying values structure. As Leonie put it:

Mine is high, it has to be high. My family expects me to (achieve at high levels). If I don't do it well, then, they will get down on me, you know what I mean? I can't afford to fail the subject because I don't really have a good reason to. Like at home, they would help me (with Korean studies).

For a while I hated the fact that I was doing Korean. I really felt I didn't like it. *All* of my friends are Australian and European. That's why I didn't learn it when I was little. I should have learned it but I didn't like the fact that I am different which I regretted so...This is my last chance. If I don't learn it at uni, then... I can't learn it at home like this. **So** it is my last chance for any command over the language, for future growth. I can't get away from the fact that I have a Korean background. So I learn it for my family, to get along with my family (University Y).

Australian students at both universities in this study generally had high expectations of themselves and their prospects in Korean language. Most were planning to undertake an exchange program in Korea and they had specific plans about their further Korean language learning. These elements affected their interest and motivation the study of Korean.

I want to do very well and eventually I will go over to Korea and live there at least 1 year on a student exchange program. And then I will see if I can stay there for longer (Peter, University X).

Eva, a third year Australian student saw limits to learning Korean language in Australia.

I'd like to learn Korean **as** much as I *can*. I don't expect myself to be very good at it because I only studied Korean for three years and it is very limited to speak Korean outside university, Hopefully next year I will become a lot better. I am going to Korea next year and expect to learn in Korea (University X).

In contrast, interest in Korean and self-expectations were vastly different for students who did not plan to go to Korea compared to students who did. Planning to go to Korea became part of the personal goals of individuals which in turn affect self-expectations. Marvin, a second year Australian student stated that:

To goal is to achieve regardless of what happens. My expectation of the future is to speak fluent Korean. I don't mind if I pass or get a high distinction. After I finish the course, speaking Korean fluently is my objective. So yes, I have high expectations of myself and marks don't matter to me (University X).

Teachers' expectations as the theory in Chapter III predicts, also affect self-expectations. For example, Justin had the highest scores on both vocabulary and oral tests in the semester I was visiting and was constantly reinforced by his teacher who told me that:

His Korean pronunciation is superior to other students. It doesn't sound like pronunciation by a foreigner at all. He repeats words (or sentences) naturally very well without any (foreign) accent. He **seems** to have a talent for language learning (University Y).

Gloria too was highly rated by her teacher with predictable effects on her expectations:

Gloria: Yes, sure. I like Korean more than any other subject. I mean really.

R: Why is that? Is it because you like studying Korean?

Gloria: It's because of the level (of the study). It is easy enough to grab everything. It is not like other subjects like sociology where you need different ideas. It is pretty straightforward., it is there in front of you...get everything done if you want to (University Y).

Her teacher told me that he had not seen ‘any other student like Gloria’ and claimed that he often talked to his wife, who is also an academic at a university, about Gloria’s aptitude and passion for learning Korean. He explained her learning attitude and strategies in the Korean language classroom in the following way:

She always tries to speak in Korean, even though she makes some mistakes it doesn’t matter. She tries to use all the knowledge she **has** when she speaks. To learn a language this is the best attitude...At the end of the lessons, she always complains that the lesson is **finished** already and wishes the lessons were longer (University Y).

First year non-Korean background students are more circumspect. The transition to university study is easier for those who come from high schools that offer Korean language studies. Their Korean entry experience is less problematic because are likely to join second rather than first year classes. Other students tended to take a ‘wait and see’ attitude to Korean language learning. Kate, used her employment prospects as the basis of her expectations. She set out to learn enough to communicate with Koreans in the workplace, Kate focused then on a practical acquisition of Korean rather than on high classroom achievements:

My expectations are not high, but I expect to get somewhere and I will. It (Korean) is not a language going nowhere, no. It does not pay well, but you can use it in a job. My expectations for learning Korean are that I want to be able to speak it..., use it on a job level. In a job, like speak to customers and maybe speak to your clients and answer the phone. But obviously we will never be like a native speaker. But my expectation is to get a job...I think Korean economy will go up in a couple of years and by that time we will have graduated (University Y).

Kate had minimal academic expectations of herself but she expected to use her Korean language skills from the first year of Korean studies for career advancement.

Cindy, in her third year, had expectations in Korean language study that were neither optimistic nor high.

Cindy: I don't expect anything very high, or very much. I am not aiming to be perfect or anything because it will never happen.

Mejin: Yes, I feel that way too.

Cindy: I am aware that once I finish my major in Korean, I am not gonna have many skills in Korean language...If it helps me at all for a job in the future, I don't know. ...A lot of people are quite shocked when I say 'no, I can't speak (Korean)'. They said 'but you are third year' like they expect more. Maybe I expect too little but because of the nature of the course and everything it is not gonna happen but that's OK. I don't expect to learn Korean perfectly or anything (University Y).

While Cindy described herself as a 'laid back personality' and Jack of study as the reason for her slow progress in Korean, she thought that Korean teachers were partly responsible for her attitude because they did not expect or encourage her to study. Her view was that the teachers '... don't push me so I don't have a passion for learning for myself as much as the teachers. So I don't (study hard) and it's fine with me'. Maria compared her situation in the Japanese subjects where she was a high achiever.

They (Japanese teachers) are really interested in what we are learning. The Japanese department is much bigger and there are so many people in our class so... It seems like they have more and higher expectations because there is more work, there are more structures. Yes, I think the expectations reflect the work. Korean is not like Japanese. (University Y).

She stated 'I don't think it is accidental that the Japanese teachers have more positive expectations you know. It is a reflection on the department'.

In other words, many Australian students had high self-expectations of their Korean studies. However, high self-expectations of students tend to be associated with the teachers' positive or high expectations of them. Australian students in this study who did not develop positive and/or high expectations of their teachers, tended not to establish high-self expectations in their Korean language learning.

Asian International students in this study also had high self-expectations and a genuine interest in Korean language learning. Kaori, a first-year Japanese international student expressed high expectations in Korean language learning. She stated that:

I want to learn it perfectly, in a perfect way everything. The more I learn I hope I am able to use everything I am learning in class (University X).

Kaori described herself to me as 'a high achiever who was highly motivated to learn when it comes to languages'. She had an educational history spanning school and university in the USA and Japan before coming to Australia for higher education. She believed that her Japanese background was an advantage for her Korean learning as the grammar patterns between Japanese and Korean are similar. She was well regarded by the Korean teachers.

The Korean teachers at both Universities expected Japanese international students to learn Korean more easily than Australian students. There are good reasons for this confidence. There is some similar vocabulary between Korean and Japanese because many words in both languages are based on Chinese. Japanese students

can guess the meaning of words in Japanese by the pronunciation of Korean words. In addition, the order of words in sentences, and the structure of the grammar are similar.

Unlike Australian students, Asian international students were concerned about using Korean language in Asia on their return to their own countries. This affected the self-expectations of several students. Others had wider visions. Jang, an international student from Hong Kong, stated:

I hope I can do better even after graduation. After I go back to Hong Kong I can still use Korean at Korean companies something like that. In that way I won't forget Korean language (University Y).

For those who had decided to major in Korean, specific plans about how to use Korean language skills for job opportunities were in evidence. Masa was planning to be a Korean language teacher in Australia. Mejin had applied to different airline companies for a job. These indicators suggested that second and third year international students, who majored in Korean language, were dealing with Korean language studies with high expectations of themselves in Australia.

Students' Perceptions of The Significance of Teacher Expectations

When I asked the students if they thought teachers' expectations of students could influence the students' achievements, many of the students prefaced their answer with strong expressions such as 'definitely' or 'absolutely'. Their beliefs had been developed from experiences from elementary school through to tertiary education,

rather than **as** a consequence of being in the Korean classes. All of the students could provide vignettes of how teacher expectations affect learning.

Students at both universities had a clear understanding that teachers' expectations affect student performances in class directly and indirectly. To illustrate what I mean by a direct influence, consider the following episode in a second year classroom:

Teacher D: How do you say 'I have to catch a train this morning' in Korean?

Robin: (Answers) Naeun... onul gichar... taya...heayo.

Teacher D: Not quite, but you are very close. Try again.

Robin: Nanun onual gicharel tayahaeyo (I have to catch a train today)

Teacher D: Yes, that's good. Can you all understand how to use 'have to' in Korean sentences?

After the lesson when I interviewed Robin he said:

Even though my answers are not always correct, she never makes me feel embarrassed by saying like 'no, that's not correct. You are wrong again'. They (Korean teachers) encourage us to speak Korean and give us enough time to make answers and say it correctly (University X).

Meg, a second year Australian student explained how expectations of teachers can make students feel 'like fools' or 'smart students'. She stated that

How teachers treat you can make you feel that way'. If a teacher says like 'you don't know anything' or 'even if I teach you, you are not going to understand' or when the class does exercises you are not picking up or you are not chosen because you are not expected to know. Then it affects how you feel about yourself and you start to think that you are not good enough.

Even though you try to reach a high level of performance and try to be a high achiever, a teacher who treats you like you don't know anything or you

are not smart enough to do the work can be very hard because you don't feel good about yourself and your ability (University X).

Janet, a second year Australian student, puts it succinctly, underscoring the 'self-fulfilling prophecy' described in Chapter III.

If a teacher expects me to fail then probably I believe I would fail. And if a teacher expects me to do better than anyone else I would believe I will do well.

If teachers have high expectations and even though I think 'no, I can't do it' **as** time goes on I could reach the level teachers expect. It'd probably take extra time, maybe a few weeks or months but if they push students then someday they can achieve it. They, teachers, **must** believe students would go up (in their performances) (Emphasis in the original, University X).

Tess, a first year Australian student, was one of many students who related examples to me about the effects of teachers' high expectations. She argued that having high levels of expectations of students was an essential attribute of a good teacher. Her view was that 'teachers need to really worry about what students are achieving. I think it is a very important element for teachers in any subject and at any level to motivate the class to achieve.'

Kaori, a Japanese international student for a postgraduate degree, stressed that a language teacher's expectations of students were more significant than they were in any other subject because the teacher is normally the only one who has knowledge of the subject matter and of the student's performance levels. She went on:

Language teachers are very important. Teacher C **has** a good character and everybody likes him. If he has more expectations of us we will follow him. The only thing I wish is that he prepared more tests and works out something to show our ability in the class apart from speaking. If he had more expectations then it would make me feel I have to study more. That's very important. Now, I don't feel like that (University X).

It is clear that the investigated students constantly observed the teachers' expectations of them and responded to the teachers' treatment of them. It can be concluded that if teachers develop and show their high expectations of students and make students feel that they care about the students' achievements, then the students also tend to develop high expectations of themselves and are interested in the subjects as well as the teachers.

In summary, all students in this study regardless background, gender, and year of Korean study, perceived that teacher expectations of students are important as they affect student academic learning of Korean language outcomes. Indeed, across the 2 universities, 44 out of 45 students nominated teacher expectations to be one of the main factors that motivate students to learn.

Part Three: Survey Results

I now provide a summary of the student survey data discussed in Chapter III by way of concluding the presentation of data.

Although the interviews were conducted in 1998 and 1999 and the survey in 2002 respectively, the survey responses indicate that teacher expectations and encouragement have significant meaning for students attempting to learn Korean language. Similarly, the survey shows that student self-expectations in Korean language learning remained high. Moreover, the survey data indicate that student

perception is that Korean teachers have different expectations toward the Korean background students compared to Australian and other Asian students (See Appendix B).

There are 6 differences in the data that in future research needs further exploration. In this sample, female students are more likely to believe that there is a difference between Australian and Korean teacher behaviours and that encouragement by teachers is important for students. Female students are also more likely to believe that other Asian language teachers expect more from students than Korean teachers.

There are 3 main differences between the interview and survey responses. First, the survey respondents report that Korean teacher expectations of students are no different to those of Australian teachers, despite the response that Australian and the Korean teachers exhibit differences in teaching behaviour (item 16). However, in Table 8 I recorded that the students perceived Korean and western teachers to have similar expectations of students, in both Universities.

Second, the survey data indicate that students do not think that other Asian language teachers expect more from students in language classes compared to the Korean teachers (item 9). This response contrasts with a preference for the view that there are differences in teaching behaviour between the Korean and other Asian language teachers.

Third, the survey respondents believe that Korean teachers expect all students to achieve high levels of achievement in Korean language skills (item 10). This is again a contrast to what I was told in the interview rounds.

The three main differences between the interview results and the survey responses are attribute to the time lapse between the interviews and survey in 1998, 1999 and 2002. Changes in student class composition or teachers can be important factors in students' achievements and how they perceive learning and teaching. If there is a change in teachers and students such as the arrival or departure of staff or students, the nature of the class and teaching and learning also change (Weber, 1971). With these points in mind, the remainder of the responses from the survey exhibit sufficient agreement for me to interpret them as corroborating the qualitative data that I collected in 1998 and 1999.

I now turn to the conclusion and further research.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Introduction

It will be recalled that the research question of this thesis was stated **as**: ‘Is there evidence that visible and invisible pedagogic patterns operate in Korean language classes and if there is, what are they and can they be explained?’ The problem was approached by concentrating on the interactional patterns generated by the perceptions and expectations of Korean language teachers and their students towards each other. In this Chapter I evaluate the evidence presented in Chapter V and draw the thesis to a close.

The significance of the study is twofold. First, it is the first Australian work focused on tertiary Korean language classrooms undertaken in Australia. Moreover, as an exploratory foray into uncommonly used theory and a rarely researched setting, the study provides evidences that social interactions between tertiary teachers and students in Korean language classrooms can be identified **as** an invisible element in day by day social interactions. This study shows that cultural differences between student and teacher in the Korean language teaching setting have effects on the expectations of both teachers **and** students. To this extent, theory developed in school settings by Hargreaves and Nash has some salience in at

least the Korean language teaching setting while Bernstein's more universal theory of pedagogic discourse is confined.

Second, the study shows that there are social determinants of student learning that are glossed in predominantly psychological theories of foreign language teaching and learning literature. Developing excellent language materials for learners or stressing teachers' language methods alone 'would be of little use in terms of securing better outcomes unless the whole system was involved in striving to improve on all fronts' (Phillips 1995: 380). I now summarise the main empirical findings of the thesis before proposing a theoretical analysis of them in a pedagogic discourse framework.

Discussion of the Findings

1. The perceptions and expectations between Korean teachers and students in the classroom

The research data suggest that the Korean language teacher expectations of Australian students in this study are perceived by Australian students to be lower than Western teachers and other Asian language teachers (Japanese, Chinese or Indonesian). There are three major points to be made about expectations and performances in the Korean classroom in this study. First, the Korean teachers are generally perceived by students as not having high expectations of students compared to western teachers (including teachers of other courses) and other Asian language teachers in Australia. It was found that Korean teachers' expectations of

students are associated with students' current performances and their backgrounds. The Australian students perceived that the Korean teachers do not expect Australian students to learn Korean rapidly or achieve a high level of language proficiency. This finding is different from the survey data, item 10, that show the students think that the Korean teachers expect Australian students to achieve a high level of language proficiency as I discussed in earlier chapter. However, items 1, 2 and 28 still indicate that there are perceived differences in teaching behaviours between Korean and western teachers and between Korean and other Asian language teachers in the classroom.

Conversely, the Korean background students found that Korean teachers have high expectations of them. That is, there is an invisible pedagogy operating when Korean teachers teach Korean background students as I explain below. To paraphrase Bernstein (1990), the individual pedagogy of the Korean teachers transforms the privatised social structures of both students and teachers. It tends to apply to Korean background students because they share the same culture with teachers compared to Australian students. This notion is suggested by the response to item 7 that Korean teachers have different expectations of Korean background students compared to Australian or international students.

Second, student perceptions about their interactions with teachers are different according to teachers' high and positive expectations toward them and their learning performances. There are two elements here. Korean language students

who currently experience positive expectations from the Korean teachers perceive that teachers' high expectations are not essential for high achievements. Moreover, the students in this category believe that their performances could not advance more efficiently than now although the teachers have high expectations of them.

In contrast, Korean language students who currently do not receive positive expectations from their teachers strongly perceive that their performances with Korean language studies would progress rapidly if Korean teachers had high expectations of them. In other words, this shows that the positive expectations of teachers are as important as high expectations for student performances at tertiary level. As Kauchak and Eggen (1998) reported, positive teacher expectations form a powerful foundation for learning. Teachers' beliefs that all students can learn exert a powerful and positive influence on learning (Kauchak and Eggen, 1998). Moreover, this study shows that teachers' positive expectations establish high expectations. The students wanted to be informed by teachers that they are expected to perform better, showing that teachers' expectations not only affect students' performance but also their motivation to learn. Items 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 19, 20, 26, 27, 30 and 31 indicate that the Korean teachers try to understand students' needs by providing feedback; that they communicate with students both in and beyond classrooms with good interpersonal communication skills to support students. These items also indicate that the Korean teachers consider and act on students' requests, that they pay attention to all students regardless of academic performance and that they expect all students to achieve their individual goals in

Korean language study by establishing different expectations of individual students.

Third, although item 15 indicates that the Korean teachers understand student expectations, I found in the interviews of 1998 and 1999 that the Korean teachers were generally unaware of the students' expectations of them. Thus, the students believe that the teachers understand their expectations, however, it seems the teachers are unlikely aware of students' expectations toward them. Teachers tend not to notice their own behaviours and interactions with students (Good and Brophy 1978, 1997, 2000, 2002). Yet, teacher expectations are crucial to students' levels of learning, whether expectations are individual or whole class as Good, Biddle, and Brophy (1976) argued. The data in this study tend to support the general principle that social interaction patterns affect student learning, although this particular issue was not an objective of the study.

While the students at both universities had some idiosyncratic responses, the majority of students were satisfied with Korean teachers' positive expectations of them. Many Australian students and Asian international students described the Korean teacher expectations of them as positive rather than high expectations. The students found that teachers' positive expectations were **as** important as high expectations for encouraging their learning and academic results. Just as in Good and Brophy (2000, 2002) latest work, positive expectations were associated with encouragement, support of, and interest in individual student learning. Positive

expectations are beneficial in two ways. They lead to the self-fulfilling prophecy effects described elsewhere in the thesis. This is confirmed by responses to items 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23 that show students have self-expectations of their study, that teachers have expectations of students and that students perceive the importance of teacher expectations of them. Item 21 confirms that Korean teachers do not overtly send messages of negative expectations to students about their Korean language learning. This is an important issue because consistent positive expectations cause teachers to examine their own behaviour toward students, an uncommon disposition in teachers (Good and Brophy, 2000, 2002).

Moreover, the Korean teachers' caring attitudes toward students in learning process are recognised by students. The literature suggests that it is one of **main** key factors that contribute to students' academic achievements of success (Nieto, 1996). Vasquez (1988) too argues that student perceptions of whether the teacher cares for them has meaningful effects on performance and behaviour, In this study, students consider teachers' encouragements and supports to be the central element of positive expectations by teachers and students were encouraged to develop positive relationships with their teachers. Items 3 and 4 indicate that most of students believed that the Korean teachers provide high levels of support and feedback for their Korean language learning.

Fourth, the social relations in a class change definitions of who the students are, teachers' expectations, and the centre of focus. This dynamic was evident in the

propensity of the teachers to have different expectations when the Korean background students lead the class compared to Australian students. Thus, this study shows that the Korean background students are generally associated with 'high attainment'. Korean background students perceived that their Korean teachers believed they learn Korean faster than other students. Australian and international students as well as Korean teachers believe that Korean background students are likely to have a higher ability in Korean language by virtue of their background as well as living with native Korean speakers at home. Moreover, unlike Australian and Asian international students, Korean background students are highly motivated by the expectations of parents, teachers and, in turn, their own self-perceptions as being 'half' Korean.

These data evoke Hargreave's (1972) theory whereby a 'good' student is one who has high ability as well as high motivation. Thus, in case of the Korean language classes at Australian universities, a Korean background student is easily identified as a 'good' student who can achieve high levels of achievement. In classes with Korean background high performers, the Australian and other Asian students have fewer chances to be perceived as 'good' by the teachers, unless they perform as well as Korean background students.

In classes without Korean background students, the teachers' evaluation of students' ability and motivation appears to be different. In such classes, the Australian students can be positioned as 'good' students with high attainment in the

class rather than remain as students who have an average ability to perform. In this way, teacher perception and categorisation of students establishes different kinds of relationships with students. In turn, such relationships between teacher and students affect the relationships between students. Patterns of interaction with students affect classroom feedback, the nature and difficulty of classroom questions and ultimately, personal relations are constructed by these social interactions.

At the same time, in mixed classes with several different student backgrounds, the self-concept of Australian students and attitudes towards Korean language learning is affected as the students constantly compare themselves to Korean background students and/or other Asian students. The nationality of students was found to be a sensitive issue for students because they were aware that, unlike other subjects, it links performance and academic achievement in Korean language learning.

In addition, the expectations of Korean teachers appear to be closely associated with a student's cultural background, grades, test scores, willingness to study, personality, classroom behaviour, and plans to study Korean in future. This finding is consonant with the historical data about teacher expectations and cultural background. (Oakes, 1985; Good and Brophy, 1978, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1997, 2000, 2002).

2. The characteristic social interactions patterns in Korean language classrooms at Australian Universities

Again, drawing on Hargreaves and **Nash**, this study shows that students perceived as 'bright' by the teacher and who perceive themselves as 'bright' and perceive the teacher as a significant person, are successful. In contrast, students perceived as 'dull' or otherwise disempowered by the teacher and who perceive themselves as 'dull' and perceive the teacher as a significant person in Korean language classrooms, tend to be less successful.

The study shows that Korean language teacher expectations of students affect students' self-concept about learning Korean language although the study did not specifically investigate student academic results. Nevertheless, in future such studies, the link between teachers as significant others and the self-concept of Australian students who either compete with or do not compete with Korean background students or other Asian could well be investigated. This relative positioning of Australian students with the dominant Korean speaker role is potentially an important element of all Asian language classes in Australia.

A confounding factor of the finding of this study is that Korean background students have particular motives for learning Korean language a particular set of attitudes that accompany them. Thus, a Korean background student's background culture influences the motivation, attitudes, values, and beliefs about Korean language learning, and these are carried into the classroom. Cassidy and Lynn

(1991), Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) and Nash (2002) stress that motivation and academic achievements are mediated by such things as family characteristics and relationships and most students who are successful learners believe that parents are the major influence on school performance. Furthermore, Nash (2002) links motivation and family background to ambition so that students who like being at the school (or university), who think their teachers treat them fairly, and who believe they can succeed, will progress more than students who do not. Furthermore, Nash (2002) indicates that the process by which students form their conceptions of what they can learn from school (or university) are related to a more profound sense of their developing identity as young adults.

3. The Korean language teachers' perceptions of pedagogical differences between Korea and Australia

Visible pedagogical differences in Korean and Australian classrooms are understood by the Korean language teachers and influence their teaching practices. The Korean teachers in this study are aware of western pedagogy, which is distinguished from their own cultural background. According to Australian students in this study, five factors appeared to contribute to Korean language teachers' realization of differences in pedagogies along with cultural differences; age of a teacher, a period of residency of Australia, teaching experiences in Australia or other western countries, learning experiences in Australia or other western countries, positivity toward Australian culture. The Korean teachers in this study practised a western style of teaching and learning, which is based on

'flexibility' and 'democracy'. These two concepts of pedagogy are opposed to authoritarian teaching (Han 1997). In order to reduce potential discord in pedagogical contexts with Australian students, the Korean teachers did not insist on or make explicit Korean teacher characteristics or behaviours. Items 17, 24, 25 and 29 indicate that the students do not think that Korean teachers show an Asian style of teaching in the classroom. Together, these items provide some evidence that students think that the Korean teachers understand student culture in Australian classrooms.

Nevertheless, the study shows that while the Korean teachers emulated western teaching styles, they are unlikely to communicate their emotions to all of the students. The visible pedagogy was ostensibly 'western' but the invisible pedagogy remained one of Korean cultural traditions. The Korean background students and some of the other Asian students generally had more knowledge about Korean language and culture. Consequently, they had a better understanding of the criteria operating in class. The Australian students who majored in other Asian languages also had a working understanding of the structure and pedagogical contexts in the Korean classroom. However, in general, the Australian students were more dependent on the teachers for learning as they did not gain extra knowledge of Korean that the Korean background students did at home. The cultural bias in the teaching and learning relay of the Korean language classroom worked against the interests of Australian students and some Asian students who perceived that there was not enough pressure on them.

4. Cultural differences between the Korean language teachers and Australian students in Korean language classrooms

Cultural differences between Korean language teachers and Australian students affect the visible teaching practices of the Korean teachers. The pedagogies of Korean language classrooms appear similar to other western classrooms. Consequently, Australian students in this study perceive that there is little difference in the basic teaching and learning process between Korean and Australian language teachers. Australian students, under this regime, do not consider Korean language teachers to be authoritarian. The Korean teachers clearly base their pedagogies on a model in which the teacher holds centre stage and acts directly with the students. At the same time, Korean teachers exercise flexibility to account for the cultural and pedagogical differences between Korea and Australia.

The research data show that the perceptions and expectations of individual students are associated with the cultural backgrounds of students. Depending on a student's cultural background, differences between Korean teachers and students appear differently. In other words, there are differences in the ways these students perceive and evaluate their teachers. This is an important insight because students react differently to the covert messages from teachers that they interpret. Thus, the Korean students who recognise and then conform to Korean behaviours and values, set up the self-fulfilling prophecy.

Similarly, the self-fulfilling prophecy mechanism works for other students who **fail** to recognise the invisible pedagogy and in doing so, misunderstand the teachers. These students tend to have lowered expectations and performance. The majority of Australian students are aware of overt classroom management behaviours related to assessment and classroom management rather than understanding their connection with 'culture' as a dynamic ongoing process of interaction that includes perception, expectations, communication, socialisation, educational perspectives, action and reflection. Accordingly, students in this study, regardless of their backgrounds, perceive that teacher expectations are not part of the teaching or the curriculum. Yet, ironically, they believe that teachers' high or positive expectations of students are an essential element for their successful performances and cannot be altered by students.

Student cultural backgrounds (Australian, Korean background and other Asian international) are one of the major elements that establish Korean teachers' perceptions and expectations of students' performances and their future academic achievement. This finding confirms Daman's (1987) proposition that while cultural guidance is rarely part of the stated curriculum of second or foreign language, it is often a part of the hidden agenda. She describes cultural difference as 'a pervasive but unrecognised dimension, colouring expectations, perceptions, reactions, teaching and learning strategies, and is a contributing factor in the success or failure of second or foreign language learning and acquisition' (Daman, 1987: 4). Korean teachers are not unique in this respect. Indian teachers working

in British schools are likely to be shocked by the low disciplinary standards of British classrooms. Moreover, they are confronted by a different concept of the teacher and different standards of social evaluation for teachers. In India, teachers enjoy high social status and are shown signs of respect by students. 'They know things are different compared to with India' when they take positions in the UK (The Australian, 2001: 7).

Confucianism, the representative icon of Korean culture, is a hidden factor of Korean teachers that influences their inner thoughts and perceptions of students. Korean cultural mores emphasise respect between teacher and student. Respect for teachers is significantly related to the importance of education in the minds of Korean people. A person's education background in Korea influences not only his or her job opportunities, salary, promotion, marriage and relationships with other people, but also the potential to treat others well or badly (Chang and Chang, 1994; Han 1997; Kim 2001; MacDonald, 1990; Mon 1997). While the Korean teachers in this study have a long Australian residency and most of them have long periods of teaching and learning experiences in Australia or other western country, I believe that a large part of their value and belief systems remain rooted in Korean culture, including perspectives on education. When they moved to Australia, these teachers were already adults aged 25 to 35 years. These Korean teachers then are likely to have deep attachments to Korean culture, reinforced by marriage to native Koreans and the Korean language spoken at home with their families. **As** Korean language teachers in Australia, they are conduits of Korean language **and** culture.

Notwithstanding this observation, they do not ignore Australian culture either. They are aware of cultural differences in the pedagogies in the two countries and as the data reveal, there is weaker framing compared to what teachers in Korea might exercise or students (including the author) might experience. Thus, although Korean teachers perceive that a student's capacity is based on personal background, experience, and educational philosophy, they strive to conceal their Korean assumptions from the Australian students in the classroom.

5. Theoretical Remarks on the Pedagogic Discourse of the Korean Language Classrooms: theoretical evidence for the existence of interactional and pedagogical patterns in the Korean classrooms

Chapter V contains a surfeit of cases in which teachers and students evaluate each other's perceptions and expectations of legitimate language teaching transmission and personal characteristics. There are differential effects on the three different groups of students. First, Korean teachers create and foster a classroom of warmth and support so that all students feel comfortable and welcomed. These relationships extend beyond the classroom into social life so that there is a sense of 'belonging' to the Korean class. Korean teachers and their classes are 'positive'. Simultaneously, there are different expectations of each student group in the classroom where Korean background students are included.

It will be recalled that teachers responded differently to different students in comments on scripts and in other feedback in the classes. With Australian students, teachers 'teach' their material in ways that they believe will enhance student learning, in contrast, teachers appear to teach to the Korean language and cultural background of Korean students and they routinely change the content and structure of the teaching materials to adapt to such backgrounds. The Asian International students have experiences that draw on elements of the Australian and Korean background students. For those with language background with affinity to Korean (e.g. Japanese), their experiences are more like the Koreans background students than the Australians. Similarly, for those with language backgrounds unrelated to Korean, their experiences are more like those of the Australians. However, the commonalities of Asian cultures **based** around the Confucian philosophy and its variants, provides these students with insights into the teachers' behaviours systems so that there is more identification with life in the classrooms.

In the Bernstein terms outlined in Chapter III, these relationships can be described as follows. For the Australian students, the Korean language classrooms are strongly classified (C+) and strongly framed (F+). For the Korean background students, the classrooms are weakly classified (C-) and weakly framed (F-). For the Asian background students, the classrooms are weakly classified (C+) and weakly framed (F-). On the one hand, the Australian students engage with the Korean language classroom based on lowered self-expectations of success than the Korean background students when a classroom includes more than 2 Korean background

students. When Australian students do not need to compete with Korean background students in the classroom, their self-expectations of success tend to be higher. On the other hand, the Korean background students generally are likely to have strongly heightened self-expectations. In the Asian international background students' case, their self-expectations tend to place between Australian students and Korean background students.

The rules for improving performance and for 'cracking the code' for learning Korean language remain implicit and the preserve of the teachers. The Australian students feel 'free' to learn in whatever way they elect and the teacher appears to be a benign facilitator so that 'the acquirer can create his/her text under conditions of apparently minimum external constraint and in a context and social relationship which appears highly supportive of the 'spontaneous' text the acquirer offers' (Bernstein, 1990:69).

On their part, the Korean background students evaluate the experience the classroom as a similar but modified by cultural continuity and explicit expectations that reconceptualise messages from their family's past. The invocation of a form of 'conscience' in the Korean background students is a core understanding this study. It is an index of a regulative, moral discourse that is prior to, underpins and is a condition for instructional strategies (Bernstein, 1990). The regulative discourse that established the context in which the Austrahn and Korean language students experience different Korean language messages is illustrated in the following way.

First, university-based Korean language is abstracted and relocated to form what counts as a course in 'Korean Language'. Second, in this process, Korean language undergoes a transformation into what Bernstein (1990, 210) calls an 'imaginary' discourse. Thus, the rules for selection modules, sequencing the teaching and pacing progress cannot be derived from the imaginary discourse or from the teachers themselves. Fourth, rather, these elements are 'social facts', derived from the socially constructed elements such as the strength of classification and framing. Fifth, the Korean language program therefore is ultimately a feature of regulative discourse so that the actual teaching and transmission strategies and content transmission are embedded in principles of classroom order, relationships between teachers and the taught, and the identities of the players that are developed in the context. To this extent, high achievement in the Korean language classrooms tend to be dependent on having acquired principles of order, relations and identity grounded in Korean culture.

It follows that the pedagogical practices of Korean teachers carry different messages for the three groups of students because regulative discourse is a **signifier** for something other than itself. The hierarchical rules are explicit for Korean background students and some of the Asian background students. However, for Australian students the hierarchy is implicit, and more difficult to distinguish the teacher. Thus, in these classrooms, the implicit hierarchy conceals power that is covered or hidden by devices of communication.

A major finding of the thesis then is that these classrooms are more than a description of the transmission of Korean language and culture but have consequences for different groups (Sadovnik, 1995). ~~As~~ I hypothesised from the work of Hargreaves and Nash in Chapters I, II and III, the social relations between teacher and student are structured differently, depending on whether pedagogy is implicit or explicit. Again, invisible pedagogies are subject to what the teacher can glean from 'reading' the tacit social relationship factors he or she has with students.

Bernstein (1975) indicates that invisible pedagogies transform the privatised social structures and cultural contexts of visible pedagogies into a personalised social structure and personalised cultural contexts as illustrated by the Australian cohort. In doing so, invisible pedagogies generate a hierarchical order in the culturally diverse Korean language classroom. Interactional patterns in the classroom are the basis on which these social dynamics work.

The interpretation of this conclusion is important because it *can* carry unintended messages. That is, I am not arguing that the Korean language classroom is a relay for Korean ethnic interests, class, Confucian or any other relations and outcomes. Rather, I argue that the data and theories of this thesis have shown that it is productive to investigate the relay for the transmission of languages as well as what is transmitted. Moreover, given the similarity of university-level Asian language teaching constrained in typical 3-year degree structures in Australia, it is

strategically important to focus on the 'how' of language program outcomes as well as the 'what'. To do this, researchers need to have a theory about the principles of description so that the 'carrier' of language programs can be understood. Theories of cultural reproduction and indeed of language learning are 'essentially theories without a theory of communication' (Bernstein, 1990, 170). This thesis is a modest Korean language classroom that is based on Bernstein's theory. It constitutes the claim that this work in Korean language classrooms is unique and consequently, makes a contribution to knowledge of Korean language classrooms.

In reality, the complexity of these classrooms is such that no one model, approach or theory is adequate. It follows that the data and their discussion provide sufficient evidence to suggest that psychological models of language learning that dwell on the internal mental workings of individual learners alone are inadequate models for, and explanations of language learning (see Kumpulainen and Wray, 2002).

Summary

In summary, this study shows that the relationships between teachers and students and their perceptions and expectations of each other have a significant impact on students' performance and future academic achievements. Muller, Katz and Dance (1999) point out that most research on educational expectations focus on the teacher rather than students. In this study, I have shown that the situation is complex and cannot be unravelled unless the perspectives of teachers and students

are accounted for. This is especially so for language teaching because the field has traditionally emphasised the 'right' delivery system rather than the social dynamics of the teaching and learning nexus. The relay of the teaching has been assumed but unquestioned. The trend is changing according to Frymier and Houser (2000) because the evidence is growing that interpersonal relationships between teacher and student are a part of effective teaching. This thesis confirms that teacher-student relationships play a role in the quality of the teaching and learning in Korean language classrooms at least.

Suggestions for Future Research

Two potential projects follow directly from this thesis. First, it is of interest to explore how Asian teachers of different nationalities, such as Chinese and Japanese teachers, establish perceptions and expectations of Australian students. According to the students in this study, there are differences of teaching behaviours between Korean and other Asian teachers. Asian language teachers in Australia are understood to have similar cultural traditions, yet they have different cultural beliefs as well as personal experiences of teaching and learning. The investigation of Asian teachers' different cultural values, perceptions and expectations of students and the effects on these of Asian language teaching and learning is important culturally and economically.

Second, while expectations and perceptions and indeed, systematic relationships based on cultural assumption and the other factors discussed earlier can be

established, further work is needed to chronicle possible effects on learning outcomes. It may well be that there are no effects although, given the history of the sociology of education, this possibility seems remote, to say the least (Karabel and Halsey, **1997**).

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APPENDIX A: Survey Questions for **Students in 2002**

SURVEY INSTRUMENT
Informed Consent Statement

Thank you for your interest in this survey. You are asked to take part in a research study that intends to provide new knowledge on teacher-student relations in Korean foreign language classrooms at universities at Australia. The survey may take approximately **15** minutes to complete. There is no foreseeable risk to you for completing this survey. If you are interested in knowing the result of this study the researcher offers to forward you a copy of the result.

The data obtained will be completely anonymous. If you agree to take in this study, please read the following statement and sign below.

My participation in this study is purely voluntary.

If I have questions about rationale of the study, I understand that I may contact Young sic Kim, Faculty of Education and Creative Arts, CQU at *****.

Subject's Signature _____ Date _____

I would like to have a copy of the result. My address is:

My email is:

All survey will be reported anonymously and you do not need to answer the question that you feel uncomfortable with.

Sex _____ Age _____
Year of Korean language study _____ Major _____
Place of born _____ Nationality _____
Foreign/second language learning experiences (name of language, period of learning and name of school) _____
Please circle one: I am an (1) Australian, (2) Korean background (with Korean parent(s)), or (3) International student.

Interactions Between Teachers And Students

1. Do you think that there is any difference of teaching behaviour between Australian teachers and Korean teachers in teaching?

5 = very much 3 = average 1 = not at all

2. Do you think that there is any difference of teaching behaviour between other Asian teachers (such as Japanese, Indonesian or Chinese) and Korean teachers?

5 = very much 3 = average 1 = not at all

If so, how different are they?

3. Do Korean teachers provide enough feedback or support for students?

5 = very much 3 = average 1 = not at all

4. Do you have enough communication with Korean teachers idoutside classrooms?

5 = very much 3 = average 1 = not at all

5. Do Korean teachers have good interpersonal communication skills to support students academically? (It is not about foreign language barrier)

5 = very much 3 = average 1 = not at all

6. Do you think that Korean teachers try to understand the needs of students in the class?

5 = very much 3 = average 1 = not at all

Teachers Expectations

7. Do the Korean teachers have different expectations of Korean background students (Korean second generation in Australia) compared to Australian or international student?

5 = very much 3 = average 1 = not at all

If you answer yes for above question, how different are they?

8. Do you think that Korean teachers have differential expectations of individual students?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
9. Do you think other Asian language teachers expect more from students with their language learning, such as higher level of language skills compared to the Korean teachers? (Please answer this question if you study other Asian language(s) besides Korean language at university)
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
10. Do you think that Korean teacher expect you to achieve a great high level of Korean language skills and to be fluent?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
11. Do you have high expectations of your self with Korean language learning?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
12. Do you think that if teachers, in general, have high expectations toward students, students would obtain better academic achievements?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
13. Do you wish to receive high expectations from the Korean teachers?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
14. Do you think that the Korean teachers' high expectation of students could help your Korean language study more?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
15. Do you think that the Korean teachers understand students' expectations of them?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
16. Do you find that Korean teachers expectations are different compared to Australian teachers?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
17. Do you think that the Korean teachers are likely to control lessons with an Asian teacher attitude as distinguished from western teachers?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
18. Compared to Australian teachers, do you think that Korean teachers have different expectations of Australian students?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**
19. Do you think that the Korean teachers pay attention to all students regardless of their academic performances in the classroom?
5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

20. Do you think that Korean teachers positively expect all students achieve their own goal with Korean language learning?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

21. Have you ever received negative expectations from the Korean teachers about your Korean language learning?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

22. Does a teacher have a significant meaning to you for learning?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

23. Is a teacher's encouragement important to you for learning?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

Cultural Differences

24. Are there any difficulties in Korean classrooms due to the teachers having a different cultural background?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

25. Do you think that the Korean teachers understand Australian students' culture in their classes?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

26. Do you feel that the Korean teachers understand Australian students' motivation, learning process or academic achievement in the Korean classroom?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

27. Do you think that the Korean teachers understand how Australian students define the learning situation?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

28. Do you think that there is any difference between the Korean teachers' teaching attitudes in the language classroom and other Western or Asian teachers?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

If so, how different are they? _____

29. Do you think that there is any cultural and experiential difference between Korean teachers and Australian students?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

30. Do you think that the Korean teachers consider and reflect students' requests regarding Korean language lessons compared to western teachers?

5 = very much **3 = average** **1 = not at all**

31. Do you think that the Korean teachers consider and reflect students' requests regarding Korean language lessons?

5 = very much

3 = average

1 = not at all

- What is the most difficult aspect of Korean language classes?

- Considering how you study Korean, could you honestly say that you are really trying to learn Korean or you do just enough work to get through?

Appendix B: Students Survey Database in 2002

Frequency Table

1. Do you think that there is any difference of teaching behaviour between Australian teachers and Korean teachers in teaching?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	1	2.9	2.9	2.9
Neutral	21	61.8	61.8	64.7
Very Much	12	35.3	35.3	100
Total	34	100.00	100.00	

Chi-square (Asymp, sig) = .007

2. Do you think that there is any difference of teaching behaviour between other Asian teachers (such as Japanese, Indonesian or Chinese) and Korean teachers?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	2	5.9	7.1	7.1
Neutral	21	61.8	75.0	82.1
Very Much	5	14.7	17.9	100.0
Total	28	82.4	100.0	

3. Do Korean teachers provide enough feedback or support for students?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	2	5.9	5.9	5.9
Neutral	15	44.1	44.1	50.0
Very Much	17	50.0	50.0	100.0
Total	34	100.00	100.0	

4. Do you have enough communication with Korean teachers in/outside classrooms?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	2	5.9	5.9	5.9
Neutral	20	58.8	58.8	64.7
Very Much	12	35.3	35.3	100.0

Total	34	100.0	100.0	
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	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	0	0	0	44.1
Neutral	15	44.1	44.1	100.0
Very Much	19	55.9	55.9	
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

Chi-square(Asymp,sig) = .914

6. Do you think that Korean teachers try to understand the needs of students in the class?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	1	2.9	2.9	2.9
Neutral	13	38.2	38.2	41.2
Very Much	20	58.8	58.8	100
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

7. Do the Korean teachers have different expectations of Korean background students (Korean second generation in Australia) compared to Australian or international student?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	5	14.7	14.7	14.7
Neutral	19	55.9	55.9	70.6
Very Much	10	29.4	29.4	100
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

8. Do you think that Korean teachers have differential expectations of individual students?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	2	5.9	5.9	5.9
Neutral	23	67.6	67.6	73.5
Very Much	9	26.5	26.5	100
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

Chi-square(Asymp,sig) = .600

9. Do you think that other Asian language teachers expect more from students with their language learning, such as higher level of language skills compared to the Korean teachers? (Please answer this question if you study other Asian language(s) besides Korean language at university)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	10	29.4	43.5	43.5
Neutral	8	23.5	34.8	78.3
Very Much	5	14.7	21.7	100.0
Total	23	67.6	100.0	

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	7	20.6	20.6	20.6
Neutral	17	50.0	50.0	70.6
Very Much	10	29.4	29.4	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

11. Do you have high expectations of your self with Korean language learning?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	0	0	0	0
Neutral	9	26.5	26.5	26.5
Very Much	25	73.5	73.5	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

12. Do you think that if teachers, in general, have high expectations toward students, students would obtain better academic achievements?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	5	14.7	14.7	14.7
Neutral	15	44.1	44.1	58.8
Very Much	14	41.2	41.2	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

13. Do you wish to receive high expectations from the Korean teachers?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	2	5.9	5.9	5.9
Neutral	19	55.9	55.9	61.8
Very Much	13	38.2	38.2	100
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

14. Do you think that the Korean teachers' high expectation of students could help your Korean language study more?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	6	17.6	17.6	17.6
Neutral	14	41.2	41.2	58.8
Very Much	14	41.2	41.2	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

15. Do you think that the Korean teachers understand students' expectations of them?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	4	11.8	11.8	11.8
Neutral	20	58.8	58.8	70.6
Very Much	10	29.4	29.4	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

16. Do you find that Korean teachers expectations are different compared to Australian teachers?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	12	35.3	35.3	35.3
Neutral	16	47.1	47.1	82.4
Very Much	6	17.6	17.6	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

17. Do you think that the Korean teachers are likely to control lessons with an Asian teacher attitude as distinguished from western teachers?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	9	26.5	26.5	26.5
Neutral	20	58.8	58.8	85.3
Very Much	5	14.7	14.7	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	9	26.5	26.5	26.5
Neutral	16	47.1	47.1	73.5
Very Much	9	26.5	26.5	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	4	11.8	11.8	11.8
Neutral	10	29.4	29.4	41.2
Very Much	20	58.8	58.8	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

20. Do you think that Korean teachers positively expect all students achieve their own goal with Korean language learning?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	0	0	0	0
Neutral	15	44.1	44.1	44.1
Very Much	19	55.9	55.9	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

21. Have you ever received negative expectations from the Korean teachers about your Korean language learning?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	28	82.4	82.4	82.4
Neutral	5	14.7	14.7	97.1
Very Much	1	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

22. Does a teacher have a significant meaning to you for learning?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	1	2.9	2.9	2.9
Neutral	9	26.5	26.5	23.4
Very Much	24	70.6	70.6	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

23. Is a teacher's encouragement important to you for learning?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	0	0	0	0
Neutral	5	14.7	14.7	14.7
Very Much	29	85.3	85.3	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

24. Are there any difficulties in Korean classrooms due to the teachers having a different cultural background?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	21	61.8	61.8	61.8
Neutral	13	38.2	38.2	100.0
Very Much	0	0	0	
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

25. Do you think that the Korean teachers understand Australian students' culture in their classes?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	1	2.9	2.9	2.9

Neutral	20	58.8	58.8	61.8
Very Much	13	38.2	38.2	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

26. Do you feel that the Korean teachers understand Australian students' motivation, learning process or academic achievement in the Korean classroom?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	4	11.8	11.8	11.8
Neutral	17	50.0	50.0	61.8
Very Much	13	38.2	38.2	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

27. Do you think that the Korean teachers understand how Australian students define the learning situation?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	3	8.8	8.8	8.8
Neutral	23	67.6	67.6	76.5
Very Much	8	23.5	23.5	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

28. Do you think that there is any difference between the Korean teachers' teaching attitudes in the language classroom and other Western/other Asian teachers?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	2	5.9	6.1	33.3
Neutral	20	58.8	60.6	93.9
Very Much	11	32.4	33.3	100.0
Total	33	97.1		

Chi-square (Asymp,sig) = . 586

29. Do you think that there is any cultural and experiential difference between Korean teachers and Australian students?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	6	17.6	17.6	17.6
Neutral	23	67.6	67.6	85.3

Very Much	5	14.7	14.7	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

30. Do you think that the Korean teachers consider and reflect students' requests regarding Korean language lessons compared to western teachers?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	5	17.6	17.6	17.6
Neutral	19	67.6	67.6	85.3
Very Much	10	14.7	14.7	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

31. Do you think that the Korean teachers consider and reflect students' requests regarding Korean language lessons compared to other Asian language teachers?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not at all	1	2.9	2.9	2.9
Neutral	19	55.1	55.1	64.7
Very Much	13	37.7	37.7	100.0
Total	34	100.0	100.0	

Frequency Tables (based on Backgrounds of Students)

1. Do you think that there is any difference of teaching behaviour between Australian teachers and Korean teachers in teaching?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	3	10	1
Korean background	7	9	-
Asian International	2	2	-

2. Do you think that there is any difference of teaching behaviour between other Asian teachers (such as Japanese, Indonesian or Chinese) and Korean teachers?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	2	8	1
Korean background	2	11	-
Asian International	1	2	1

3. Do Korean teachers provide enough feedback or support for students?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	9	4	1
Korean background	6	9	1
Asian International	2	2	-

4. Do you have enough communication with Korean teachers idoutside classrooms?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	5	8	1
Korean background	4	11	1
Asian International	3	1	-

5. Do Korean teachers have good interpersonal communication skills to support students academically? (It is not about foreign language barrier)

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	9	5	-
Korean background	7	9	-
Asian International	3	1	-

6. Do you think that Korean teachers try to understand the needs of students in the class?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	10	3	1
Korean background	7	8	1
Asian International	3	1	-

7. Do the Korean teachers have different expectations of Korean background students (Korean second generation in Australia) compared to Australian or international student?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	3	8	3
Korean background	5	9	2
Asian International	2	2	-

8. Do you think that Korean teachers have differential expectations of individual students?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	4	9	1
Korean background	4	11	-
Asian International	-	3	1

9. Do you think that other Asian language teachers expect more from students with their language learning, such as higher level of language skills compared to the Korean teachers? (Please answer this question if you study other Asian language(s) besides Korean language at university)

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	2	2	5
Korean background	2	5	3
Asian International	1	1	2

10. Do you think that Korean teacher expect you to achieve a great high level of Korean language skills and to be fluent?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	4	7	3
Korean background	4	9	3
Asian International	2	1	1

11. Do you have high expectations of your self with Korean language learning?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	12	2	-
Korean background	10	6	
Asian International	3	1	-

12. Do you think that if teachers, in general, have high expectations toward students, students would obtain better academic achievements?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	6	5	3
Korean background	6	8	2
Asian International	2	2	-

13. Do you wish to receive high expectations from the Korean teachers?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	6	7	1
Korean background	5	10	-
Asian International	2	2	-

14. Do you think that the Korean teachers' high expectation of students could help your Korean language study more?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	7	4	3
Korean background	6	7	3
Asian International	1	3	-

15. Do you think that the Korean teachers understand students' expectations of them?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	7	6	1
Korean background	2	12	2

16. Do you find that Korean teachers expectations are different compared to Australian teachers?

		Neutral	Disagree
Australian	-	8	6
Korean background	6	5	5

Asian International	-	3	1
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17. Do you think that the Korean teachers are likely to control lessons with an Asian teacher attitude as distinguished from western teachers?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	-	8	6
Korean background	4	9	3
Asian International	1	3	-

18. Compared to Australian teachers, do you think that Korean teachers have different expectations of Australian students?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	3	9	2
Korean background	6	4	6
Asian International	-	3	1

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	9	4	1
Korean background	8	5	3
Asian International	3	1	-

20. Do you think that Korean teachers positively expect all students achieve their own goal with Korean language learning?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	7	7	-
Korean background	9	7	-
Asian International	3	1	-

21. Have you ever received negative expectations from the Korean teachers about your Korean language learning?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	1	1	12
Korean background	-	3	13
Asian International	-	1	3

22. Does a teacher have a significant meaning to you for learning?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	11	2	1
Korean background	11	5	-
Asian International	2	2	-

23. Is a teacher's encouragement important to you for learning?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	11	3	-
Korean background	14	2	-
Asian International	4	-	-

24. Are there any difficulties in Korean classrooms due to the teachers having a different cultural background?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	-	5	9
Korean background	-	7	9
Asian International	-	1	3

25. Do you think that the Korean teachers understand Australian students' culture in their classes?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	5	8	1
Korean background	7	9	-
Asian International	1	3	-

26. Do you feel that the Korean teachers understand Australian students' motivation, learning process or academic achievement in the Korean classroom?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	4	8	2
Korean background	7	7	2
Asian International	2	2	-

27. Do you think that the Korean teachers understand how Australian students define the learning situation?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	2	10	2
Korean background	5	10	1
Asian International	1	3	-

28. Do you think that there is any difference between the Korean teachers' teaching attitudes in the language classroom and other Western/other Asian teachers?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	4	10	-
Korean background	5	9	1
Asian International	2	1	1

29. Do you think that there is any cultural and experiential difference between Korean teachers and Australian students?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	4	8	2
Korean background	1	12	3
Asian International	-	3	1

30. Do you think that the Korean teachers consider and reflect students' requests regarding Korean language lessons compared to western teachers?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	5	7	2
Korean background	5	7	3
Asian International	-	4	-

31. Do you think that the Korean teachers consider and reflect students' requests regarding Korean language lessons compared to other Asian language teachers?

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Australian	6	8	-
Korean background	4	10	1
Asian International	3	1	-

Appendix C: Personal Detail of Informants (Students)

University X

- First year informants

Calvin	19	M	Asian studies & Korean	Korean background, Korean mother and New Zealand father. Mostly grown up in USA and Australia (Four years in Korea after he was born there)
John	22	M	Indonesian	Australian(Two years in Korea)
David	25	M	Chinese & Finance	Australian(One year in China)
Terry	24	M	Japanese & Asian studies	Australian (Two years in Japan)
Peter	18	M	Economics & Asian studies	Australian. Studied Korean in high school (One month in Korea)
Romeo	22	M	Japanese	Australian
Sam	19	M	Commerce & Korean	Australian. Studied Korean in high school since grade 7
Tess	27	F	Korean	Australian(part time student)
Bokkyu	26	M	Asian studies	Japanese international student studying Diploma of Asian studies
Kaori	27	F	Asian studies	Japanese international student studying Diploma of Asian studies
Rod	30	M	Anthropology & Korean	South American background. Moved to Australia when he was 15 and has Korean girl friend for more than one year

- Second year informants

Janet	21	F	Law & Korean	Australian(had been to Korea for a holiday)
Luke	26	M	Japanese & Korean	Australian (Two years in Japan)
Marvin	36	M	Asian studies & Korean	Australian
Robinson	19	M	Asian studies & Korean	Australian
Anthony	20	M	Law & Korean	Australian. He lived in Korea nearly two years when he was young due to father's job.
Sophia	20	F	Japanese& Korean	Australian (One year in Japan)
Monica	20	F	Law & Korean	Australian. She lived in Korea for three and half years due to

				father's job.
Meg	20	F	Law & Korean	Australian
Sandy	20	F	Anthropology & Korean	Australian
Jang	22	F	Accounting & Korean	Hong Kong international student who has Korean boy friend. Wishes to live in Korea.
Wan	22	M	Economics & Korean	Indonesian international student. He lived several Asian countries due to his fathers' job.

- Third year informants

Ron	26	M	Asian studies & Korean	Australian
Andy	23	M	Asian studies & Korean	Australian
Eva	20	F	Law & Korean	Australian. She wished to join an exchange program in Korea for one year in 2000.
Mimi	19	F	Economic & Korean	Australian. She also wished to join an exchange program in Korea for one year in 2000.
Juliet	22	F	Asian studies & Korean	Australian. Her boy friend, Romeo also studies Korean.
Luke	26	M	Japanese & Korean	He studied second and third year Korean program together at the same time (see Luke in second year informants).

University Y

- First year informants

Martin	20	M	Japanese & Korean	Australian (One year in Japan)
Justin	20	M	Electronic Engineering & Korean	Australian. He is engaged to Korean girl.
Kate	24	F	Korean & Japanese	Japanese background. She was raised in Australia.
Yoko	22	F	Asian studies	Japanese international student
Scott	21	M	Business & Korean	Korean background, Japanese mother and Korean father.
Leonie	21	F	Sociology & Korean	Korean background, Korean parents. Her parents moved to Australia when she was three years old.

- Second year informants

Name	Age	Gender	Major	Background
Gloria	21	F	Japanese & Korean	Australian.
Rosa	36	F	Accounting & Korean	Australian.
Annie	21	F	Psychology & Korean	Korean background, Korean parents
Micky	21	M	Linguistics & Korean	Japanese international student. He graduated high school and joined university in Australia

- Third year informants

Name	Age	Gender	Major	Background
Maria	22	F	Japanese & Korean	Australian
Cindy	22	F	Computer Science & Korean	South American parents. She was born and grew up in Australia and has Korean boy friend
Mejin	27	F	French & Korean	Japanese international student (Two months in Korea)
Masa	27	M	Education & Korean	Japanese international student. Has Korean born wife

APPENDIX D: Interview Questions

Interview Questions For Students

Interactions Between Teachers And Students

- Compared to Australian teachers, how do you feel about Korean teachers?
- Is there any difference between Australian teachers and Korean teachers in the classrooms such as classroom management or dealing with students?
- Is there any difference of teaching behaviour between Australian teachers and Korean teachers?
- Generally how do you feel about Korean teachers' behaviour in classrooms? What are the things you do/don't like about Korean teachers behaviour? Why?
- Do Korean teachers provide enough feedback or support for students?
- How can you describe the interactions between Korean teachers and students? How do you feel about it?
- Do you have enough communication with Korean teachers outside classrooms? Are you satisfied with the amount of communication that you have with Korean teachers?
- Do Korean teachers have good communication skills to support students academically? (It is not about foreign language barrier)
- How do you feel about Korean teachers' communication styles with students? (It is not about foreign language barrier)
- Do you think that Korean teachers try to understand the needs of students in the class?

Teachers Expectations

- What do you think of the kind of expectations the Korean teachers have of students? Why do you feel that way?
- Do you think that the Korean teachers have different expectations of Korean background students compared to Australian or International student? How different are they? How do you feel about it?
- Do you think that Korean teachers have differential expectations of individual students because of their academic performance or the same expectations for every student? Why do you feel that way?

- What kind of expectation do you have about yourself regarding Korean language studies? Why is that?
- If teachers in general do not have high expectations toward students, how does it affect students learning?
- Should the Korean teachers hold high expectations of students? Do you wish to receive high expectations from the Korean teachers? Do you think it could help your study more? How?
- Do you think that the Korean teachers understand students' expectations of them? Please tell me why you feel that way.
- Do you find that Korean teachers expectations are different compared to Australian teachers? What is the reason you believe that way?
- Do you think that the Korean teachers are likely to control lessons with an Asian teacher attitude as distinguished from western teachers?
- Can you analyse your own attitudes about Korean language learning in the class?
- Compared to Australian teachers do you think that Korean teachers have different expectations of Australian students? Why do you feel that way?
- Do you think that Korean teachers behave differently compared to Australian teachers? Could you tell me more about it?
- How do you feel about Korean teachers body language /facial expressions? What are things you do/don't like?
- Do Korean teachers pay attention or exhibit praise to all students regardless of their academic performances? Could you give me examples?
- Do you think that Korean teachers have positive expectations for the academic performance of Australian students? Could you tell me why you think that way?

Cultural Differences

- Are there any difficulties in Korean classrooms due to teachers having a different cultural background?
- Do you think that the Korean teachers accept and understand Australian students' culture in their classes? Can you be more specific?

- Do you feel that the Korean teachers understand Australian students' motivation, learning process or academic achievement? Can you give me examples?
- Do you think that the Korean teachers understand how Australian students define the learning situation? Why do you think that way?
- What is the difference between the Korean teachers' teaching attitudes and expectations in the language classroom and other Western/other Asian teachers? How does it affect your Korean language study?
- Is there any cultural and experiential difference between Korean teachers and Australian students? Can you tell me more about it?
- Do the Korean teachers accept and reflect Australian students' requests regarding Korean language lessons? Is there any difference between Australian teachers' attitude and Korean teachers' attitudes about students' requests for study?
- What are the strengths/weaknesses of Korean teachers' teaching styles?
- What are the strengths/weaknesses of western teachers' teaching styles?

General Questions

- What is your favourite part of Korean language lessons? Why do you enjoy this part?
- Is there anything that you don't like in the Korean language classrooms? What are the things you don't like?
- Are you confident of your ability to succeed in learning Korean language? If you don't, what is the reason?
- If you could change Korean lessons, what changes would you make to make lessons more effective for students?
- What do you expect Korean language teachers to do to help you when you are learning the language?
- Do you have enough conversation lessons for Korean language learning? If you are not satisfied. What are the reasons?
- Are you satisfied with Korean lessons? If there is any area which should be improved what would it be?

- Which language skill is the most important for you speaking, listening, writing, or reading?
- Do you have any problems in Korean language classes? What is the most difficult aspect of Korean language classes?
- Do you think that the Korean language program has a good balance between reading, writing, speaking, and listening?
- Do you find studying Korean interesting or are you losing interest as time goes on? What is the reason if you answered yes?
- What experience has been the most important one in your Korean language learning?
- If you had opportunities to change the way Korean is taught in our schools, would you increase/decrease/keep the amount of training required for students?
- Considering how you study Korean, could you honestly say that you are really trying to learn Korean or you do just enough work to get through?

Interview Questions For The Korean Language Teachers

- Where/when did you undertake your degrees (under graduate and higher degrees)? What was your main major for higher education?
- What was the motive to teach Korean language?
- How many years have you been in Australia? How many years of teaching experiences in Australia do you have? Do you have other teaching experiences in Korea or other countries?
- What do you think about education in Australia? How would you compare education between Korea and Australia?
- What are the differences between Korean and Australian teachers?
- What do you think about Korean language education and teachers in Australia?
- How do you feel about Australian students compared to Korean students or international students? Is there any difference between students in their learning style and behaviour according to their national background?
- Do you have high/low expectations of students? Do you expect students to achieve a high level of language skills?

- What is your idea of good and bad students?
- What is your idea of a good teacher?
- Do you think teacher expectations of students are an influential factor for students' learning and achievement?
- Would you tell me about each student's classroom behaviours, learning styles, the way they deal with Korean language study, and your opinion about them from a teacher's perspective?
- Do the Korean background students learn Korean faster than others? What are the main factors do you think? What about international Asian students? Do they also take advantage to learn Korean due to their culture?

APPENDIX E: A Sample of Interview Script with Students

19 May 1999 Romeo (first year) and Juliet (third year) at University X

What do you think about your Korean language teachers?

Mi. *** has a great sense of humour and he is quite relaxed in class and. He is good because he answers for the questions even if it is not related to the subject. He still gives you answer and doesn't say like 'don't worry about it' so that's good and he sort of accommodate the type of students who we are and ...(R)

Yes, I found Dr. Russian and Mi. *** both are very accommodating. I am not the best student but I try to learn. They encourage me to learn even though I am not sort of the top of the class. I think Mr. ***'s enthusiasm makes us motivate to study.

Yes, these two are really easy to get along with. (J)

I think you have Mrs. *** as well?

Yes, Mrs. ***, she was really good as well. And because it is not they are incorporate in the cultural aspects and Mi. ***'s class was really good, it was fun actually.

Mrs. *** invited us to her place for dinner things like that, it was good (J)

Do you think what kind of expectations they have of students?

I think Dr. Russian's expectations are a lot higher but I think it is depends on what class you belong to because when I was in different class, I did reading Korean a couple of years ago, there were too much work so I dropped. In that class the expectations was lower because of the general ability of class was lower.

Yes, I think his expectation in this semester is higher because everybody in that class has higher skills. (J)

Then how about Mr. *** and Mrs. ***?

I think Mrs. *** has actually higher expectations than Mr. *** (J).

Why it that?

I don't know really... she seems just little more serious and little less layback. Maybe bit more enthusiastic. I think Mi. *** is more like relax sort of thing but you still want to learn because he is so keen on it. (J)

What do you think Romeo?

Yes, that's true. He doesn't expects too much, he doesn't put much pressure on us and he doesn't take things too seriously like he doesn't say it is what we are going to do and get to the end by the end of the week things like that. As I said thing are happening so we are trying to finish but even though we can't finish it doesn't matter.

So his expectations in class not as serious as I guess. But some people really scare students to doing well and force students to study so they can be all done.

Maybe they expect sometimes too badly from students when they don't get high mark something like that (R).

Do you think they have high expectations for every students?

I don't know but you (pointed out Romeo) do Japanese (language studies) so you can compare them to the other language teachers. They are stricter with assessment schedule. I don't know their personal expectations, Just in terms of assessment, you can judge them by that. (J)

I know Mi- *** expects more from this class than previous class because most of people in class had experience in Korea and things like that. He expects more out of them. (R).

If the assessment schedule, It is really different Dr. Russian's class from Mr. ***'s.

With Mi. *** we just attended and not much homework, while Dr. Russian gives us a lot of homework and regular tests I found that really difficult. But with Mr. *** we didn't have many tests so in that way it was sort of easier. I guess Dr. Russian's way is I have to really keep up with lessons, homework and tests. And they are all sort of interactive together like we are not just following textbook. We study what we've done previously and we try to remember things that way. I think in that way I am suppose to forcing to learn and actually I do. (J)

Do you think they have the same expectations to every students or different expectations to individual students?

Like we are doing the same class but everyday is different. As the beginning it is hard to say because who is higher and who is lower. And he even could think 'I have to push these low people and push higher people to make more progress.' And in Some people who already got fair idea and then aggressive to them a little bit so they come to whole average over all compared to beginning. I think individually maybe he doesn't expects so much but Mr. *** pushes everyone with different expectations so they could reach their own level. (R)

Yes, I found with my last part with Mi. ***, there were only three of us in that class we were not that good with the subject so Mr. *** didn't really expect from us because he knew that that was the best we could do with the subject. His expectation was low about me and other students but he still expected us to learn to do better, with the same sort of memorisation (J)

How about Mrs. *?**

She was tutor. I think she was fair as well. I don't think she was really in charge of students so much. She just gets long with where we were going with the subject (J).

Then do you think they have positive expectations for students?

They have to have that, they can't just lay back and expect us to learn Korean.

Mr. *** doesn't expect all us reach high level but believes in every students and encourage them to achieve their own goal, He knows s that your own ability regarding the subject and supports you to make progress in our own ability (R)

And it doesn't matter where we are in high or low level he was very encouraging and did expect us to make progress, he really did that.

I think Dr. Russian, he sort of expects more than that. He really wants us to put a lot of work into so I think it called high expectations rather than positive expectations. So I think Dr. Russian has high expectations and Mr. *** has positive expectations (J)

What kind of expectation you have of yourself?

It is kind of limited expectations because I just want to do as much as I can. I don't have any plan to learn Korean in the future so... (R)

But you don't know that, do you? (J)

No, I don't, so it could come up. I could say I had experience with learning Korean and it could give me a chance to go further if I want to. But this stage it is just short term I will do the best I can. I won't sacrificed my other subjects because it is not my major, so it is not that important like the other ones but I still want to well in my average (R).

With my expectations might though When I first studied, I really wasn't working hard and didn't devoted to my study at all, I expected me just pass. But now I'd like to do really well, so I become more serious with study. I am trying to do the best as I can, it needs a lot of effort. So my expectations of myself is to do really well although my last exam was really discouraging. Since then my expectations of my self is a bit lower but I still like to do well as long as I can because I know my ability, but I think I can do better. (J)

Then what kind of expectations your teachers have about you personally?

I think Mi. *** might has high expectations of me by now because I've handle work pretty well in class and sometimes quite well so he might expects me keep the level up. So there is a little bit pressure I guess. If some thing goes wrong like little assessment and if I didn't do it very well, then he asks me like 'what is wrong? Do you have off day?' He wants to know why there is changing of position. So I think he expects me more than some other people. I don't know what expectations he has about other students but I don't think I would come last.

He must have some expectations like I will pass and I will get reasonable mark at the end. (R)

I think Dr. Russian's expectation on me is probably to do well because I was doing well and then had one bad exam. I think he wants me to do well, expects me to do well. (J)

Do you think that there is any difference between western teachers and Korean teacher's expectations?

Other western teachers I don't think they expect too much. They know you are going to pass, and they know that you are reaching for that level. If we don't do well then it reflect their performance of teaching so they encourage students to do well and have expectations. Because they want you to doing well so it looks like they are doing well.

So it is not so bad. There is one native Korean teacher who teaches Japanese has sort of high expectations in Japanese. In Japanese they all pus students, it is like high pressure all the time. So compared to western teachers, Asian teachers are more likely to force students to study while western teachers are bit more relaxed. **And** the subjects with western teachers are do as much as you want to and there are resource for you and if you come I can help you like that, they are actively go out thing like that. But they are still care about something. (R)

I can only generalise them based on Mi. ***e and Dr. Russian. Dr. Russian is a lot serious and has higher expectations. Because we have a small class in Korean, so that's different too. Because in a big class you can really lost and nobody is really paying attention to you but their expectations to you is just like anyone in class.

But in small classes, I don't know if it is western or Korean differences whatever

They both want you to do well and based on your ability rather than really generalisation. But Dr. Russian has a lot higher expectations of students.

If they had higher expectations than what they have now, do you think it could help students' achievements?

It depends on where they are putting their expectations like if they pressure student. Because they could quite intimidate students like they come to you and say 'you are right? You are right?' then you can think 'why he ask me such question? Something wrong with me?' So it all depends how they are doing it.

They've got to be there and how much put into actually them a cross they want to do well and expect them to do well. They are well but you don't have to feel bad about it. (R)

I think with Mr. ***, he could have higher expectations but I thought I didn't lose the expectations he had begin with because I felt badly. Because he was so enthusiastic and so keen, I felt bad because I didn't do as well as I can.

I don't know if he had higher expectations if I would be any better. But I think Bart is right, it depends on how they express their expectations. But not necessarily increasing the work would be better because as it is now I spend a lot of time and I found it a lot harder because I found it was discouraging at that time and at the same time I was getting worse. I don't think increase work would help study. (J)

I don't know if it is shocking in reading Korean, Spoken Korean is based on creativity and use your own experience and you are still learning, it is better way to learn instead just memorisation or thing like that. If you are asked to write about your favourite subject, or short story something about news then it is more fun to do and you can lay back yourself instead reading paragraph thing like that. (R)

Yes, if they increase their expectations then they want us to do more with language learning, yes, memorisation is really bad. But I think now he realise that and Dr. Russian changes topics more everyday stories, and dictation's thin on computer is bad (J).

Do you think teacher's expectations could influence students' achievement?

If you like the teacher and you know them personally maybe outside of classroom, then you want to do well, If you hate the teacher then it would be more difficult to do well. So their expectations are sort of personal thing unless you know them you can only think about what their expectations, maybe they expect whole a lot more. It is like Mr. *** wants us to as much as we want to do. They have to make plan like how much time they want to spend this thing and for the other thing. When they have high expectations they have to think how they put high expectations to students. (R)

I think it depends on teachers' personality. I like both Mr. *** and Dr. Russian. If they want us to achieve thing then they have to deal with time-management that sort of things and then have higher expectations. It doesn't necessarily make me individually achieve more, its really depends on person. (J)

And it could be judgmental so they might think ' they expect me get 100 % but I know I can only get 80 % even if I really spend time on it and really want to do well. In that assumption, students could be discouraged and feel more pressure and give it up because they can't handle it. (R)

Before I asked you if there is any difference between Korean teachers' expectations and western teachers'. And now I am asking you if there is nay difference between Korean teachers' attitudes and western teachers attitude?

There are a lot of similarity and I think it is because of the input from the type of teaching methodology like going around in class, they might learn the same kind of technique and maybe similar institution and the smaller information where they study before they become lecturers so there are a lot of cross over there.

There are some differences, the Korean teachers seems to worry when students don't know what they are doing, reading stuff like that in class, while western teachers more relaxed about it. (R)

I found Mr. *** and Mrs. *** were both very relaxed. I found western teachers are much less relaxed and much more less fun and less personal. (J)

The reason Korean teachers are more personal is because Korean class are much smaller than other subjects, (R)

Western teacher are much less enthusiastic. I think Mr. *** and Mrs. *** were very enthusiastic because they were naturally keen on to teach us. With Dr. Russian, it is more serious with the subject. Maybe because it is written Korean, it has something to do with that as well.

I think Mr. *** is more relaxed and there are more things to do during the lessons. The class is more like fun for him, Mr. ***, because it is elementary class and it could be the funny class (because it is not require high level of skills), and we are not stupid so. He has other things to do quite seriously. Some other Korean teachers, I could imagine that, they would take the elementary level class seriously as well. But Mr. *** makes it fun. I think Westerners take things more seriously. So I think it depends on their personality and what they are doing at that time in their private life.(R).

But there is really few western teachers are like that, you know. And I only had two western teachers at uni but then again most of the teachers were pretty much westernised. Like Mr. ***(J)

It depends on what you think fun is (R).

Do you think there is a cultural difference between Korean teachers and Australian students in class? And if there is any, do you think it affects students' learning?

I think 'Yes' for the second part. Regard to cultural differences, I haven't really noticed with Mr. *** because he has been staying this country like eight years. Maybe he doesn't know little expressions we, Australian, use something like that, but that is very infrequent. There are no really things related to our learning environment. It just maybe a little more fun (J).

I don't think there are much differences really. He's been here for long time so he's really got the local terms things like that. So I don't there is much gap at all, and actually that makes our study more interesting so you can explain the cultural position of that. And if students ask him something he answer for us like how things could be different in Korea compared to Australia. So it makes study interest as well. It wouldn't affect our study in negative way. It is good for cultural aspects.(R)

Then what you think about their teaching styles?

Mr. *** makes us a lot of group works which I always didn't like. It depends on what kind of class you have. If you like your classmate and if it is speaking lesson, then you have to do it anyway. And he does makes the lesson less formal so it doesn't makes really teacher and students different position in class, especially if the teacher is in a group to help them. With Mrs. ***, she is a little bit formal than Mi. *** but we can still have fun with her, she is really nice. And we didn't have to as much as group work so she was happy medium. (J)

I like Mr. ***'s teaching styles like we do what we have to do, I imagine Korean sentence get together and has to co.-ordinate what each person to do in class. A Lot of them take it at the same time. There is lots of group work, that's not too bad.

But like when he ask us to introduce ourselves, we have to come front I didn't like that because I don't like approach people in that way, I am introvert So I don't want to know people well in that way. It is hard to explain, in that situation, I don't want to get too close to people. In a way I appreciate that because now I know all their names and we have so much contact. I think he

was thinking we are going through the whole course for three years so we have to know each other so that was OK. Personally I prefer a lot of grammar and writing stuff like that with my language learning. Memorisation of vocab is not that helpful. He doesn't have emphasis on that so that's good. He expects us to get over it which is good compared to Japanese teacher they expect us to memorise lot of vocab but there is not much time that sort of things. (R)

Then what do you think about interaction with the Korean teachers in the classroom?

I like it because what usually happens is he introduces the task and everyone has to do it, sometimes as a pair whatever. And then we have time to prepare for that and then in that time we can ask questions one to one. When you are waiting for something else to happen, you can ask questions something not really related to the subject like cultural things. And you've got the time to talking, we go around one by one. And when he's got his office hours, then we try to go there and trying find things out. And he gave us his e-mail address stuff like that like one to one things. And he does you single you out and ask something in the class, I don't really mind that.

But when we are doing things in front of class, I found it intimidating because you've got to make to impression to them and worry about that sort of thing, like if I make mistake it is really matter (J).

Appendix F: Summary of Korean Foreign Language

Teaching Methods and Approaches

Four major foreign/second language teaching approaches in the 20th century, namely Grammar-Translation, Audio-lingual, Cognitive and Communicative language teaching that influenced Korean foreign language teaching in the United States of America and Australia are summarised. In Communicative language teaching, particularly Korean foreign language textbooks for university students are also discussed.

Grammar Based Language Teaching Approach

Most Korean language teaching at the tertiary level in the United States of America in the 1970s was based on the Grammar-Translation approach. The grammar based approach is the oldest approach in foreign language teaching but still a popular method in many countries in Asia including Korea. The Grammar-Translation method was originally used for teaching Latin and Greek and then generalized to modern language teaching (Dubin and Olshtain, 1986: 35-36). Textbooks with the Grammar-Translation approach generally contain a large range of information about the language and its structure. The teacher's role in the Grammar-Translation approach is to faithfully implement the textbook by explaining its contents. As a consequence the teacher did not need to speak the language fluently.

Nunan (1991) describes this approach as the most effective way for teachers to present and provide practice in the target grammar. He points out that in the traditional classroom, learners receive systematic instruction in the grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation of the language and provide opportunities for practicing the new features of the language as these are introduced. Consequently, the student gains a high level of formal knowledge about the language, but a low level of communicative and pragmatic competence and fluency.

Brown (1994), however, points out that the Grammar Translation method requires few specialized skills on the part of teachers. Moreover, tests of grammar rules and of translations are easily constructed and can be objectively scored. Brown criticises the Grammar-Translation method for not only ignoring communicative competence but also for limiting the learners' motivation for communication. McMeniman (1992) also argues the learning of grammatical rules will not by itself lead to appropriate use of language even though systemisation of grammar is important.

Since the middle of the 20th century, the world has become politically and economically smaller. Therefore, students require and need communication skills rather than just reading and writing skills. This situation has helped to generate the 'listen and speak approach', or the Audio-Lingual method (Kim, 1995).

Audio-Lingual Approach

The Audio-lingual approach in language teaching has existed since the 1930s, however, this approach was adopted fairly late in Korean language teaching in the early 1980s. Buzo (1995) reports that previous Korean language teaching typically took place in Korea by 'In-country' training with mature-age learners, while syllabus and classroom methodology tended to reflect the 'In-country' learning environment (Buzo 1995: 60). These teaching methods were generally based on an oral-aural approach, with situational conversation tasks along with drills in the target grammatical patterns. 'In-country' language training became more common as a part of the Korean language program in the 1990s.

The basic principles of the Audio-Lingual approach are mimicry and memorization. It was believed that 'language is behaviour' and language learning happens in stimulus-response mode through listening and repeating until it becomes a habit, the response to a concrete stimulus. The basic concerns in the Audio-Lingual approach are 'sound' and 'structure' (Jakobovits, 1978: 187). The content of a lesson was presented in the form of basic native speakers' dialogues, and the underlying grammatical structure was internalised by students as a result of inductive learning (McMeniman, 1992).

Nunan (1991) notes that the Audio-Lingual approach consists of highly coherent and well-developed classroom pedagogy with clear links between theory and practice. Furthermore, he points out that the approach develops a 'technology' of teaching and purports to be based on 'a scientific' principle for the first time.

However, the Audio- Lingual approach in language teaching focused on the linguistic aspects of language acquisition only. Buzo (1995) indicates that previous and current Korean language teaching has a lack of activity-type exercises, such as pair work and information-gap exercises, which develop students' communication skills. He also states that there is little reference to the cultural context, and little attention paid to the mechanics of vocabulary acquisition. The Audio-Lingual approach was also criticised by Hadely (1993) and Karshen (1987) because of 'over-use' of drills, limited sentence patterns and vocabulary in lessons, and repetition boring students. People do not learn a language by imitating and repeating patterns. This model is based on stimulus response and it does not account for human creativity although it can be useful for good pronunciation and accurate speech (Krashen, 1987).

McMeniman (1992) supports this critical view of the Audio-Lingual approach. She argues that parroting activities, mechanical manipulation of gap-filling exercise and memorized dialogues are not effective to developing the students' communicative competence. Criticism of the Audio-Lingual approach comes from not only unsuccessful results but also the appearance of Chomsky's cognitive generative grammar theory.

Cognitive Approach

Compared to the Audio-Lingual approach, which is influenced by experientialism and behaviourism, the Cognitive Approach is influenced by Chomsky (1959) and his concept of 'universal grammar'. Chomsky highlighted the creative aspects of human cognition, described processes that occur while generating language and re-established the notion of universal grammar that was first introduced by logicians in the middle ages. According to him, humans are able to understand sentences never heard before and are able to produce new sentences never spoken before. This is because it is thought that all humans are born with a 'language acquisition device' and also all humans have rule-governed creativity (Fromkin, Rodman, Collins and Blair, 1990: 8).

Nunan (1991) points out that cognitive learning de-emphasises the role of rote learning, and techniques of mimicry and memorization. The approach emphasises language learning as an active, intelligent, rule-seeking, and problem-solving process.

In teaching the language, the teacher is expected to be an expert observer in order to point out and make use of their various learning and cognitive style, guiding them to suitable language activities (Dubin and Olshtain, 1986). The texts used are to promote creative use of the language, and learning should always be meaningful. Students have exercises in meaningful situations as learning activities to help their fluency (Chen, 1996). Learners select activities, amount of practice, and the language skills or medium in which the activity is carried out.

Natural Approach

The Natural Approach was often used in Korean foreign language teaching before Korean language teaching followed the communicative approach. However, Lee (1996) argues that 'natural learning' approaches for English speakers learning Korean language are ineffective. His study indicates that a natural approach is effective if the mother language and the target language are similar in linguistic aspects, According to his report on *Expected Level of Absolute Speaking Proficiency in Language Taught at the Foreign Service Institute*, there are four different expected levels of English speaking learners for foreign language learning.

Expected Levels of Absolute Speaking Proficiency in Languages Taught at the Foreign Service Institute (Source: School of Language Studies, Foreign Service Institute as cited by Lee 1996:71).

Length of Training*	Aptitude for Language Learning		
	Minimum	Average	Superior
8 weeks (240 hours)	1	1/1+	1+
16 weeks (480 hours)	1+	2	2+
24 weeks (720 hours)	2	2+	3

Group II: Bulgaria, Dari, Farsi, Greek, Indonesian, Malay, Urdu

Length of Training*	Aptitude for Language Learning		
	Minimum	Average	Superior
16 weeks (480 hours)	1	1/1+	1+/2
24 weeks (720 hours)	1+	2	2+/3
44 weeks (1320 hours)	2/2+	2+/3	3/3+

Group III: Amharic, Bengali, Burmese, Czech, Finnish, Hebrew, Hungarian, Khmer (Cambodian), Lao, Nepali, Filipino, Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Sinhala, Thai, Tamil, Turkish, Vietnamese

Length of Training*	Aptitude for Language Learning		
	Minimum	Average	Superior
16 weeks (480 hours)	0+	1	1/1+
24 weeks (720 hours)	1+	2	2/2+
44 weeks (1320 hours)	2	2+	3

Length of Training*	Aptitude for Language Learning		
	Minimum	Average	Superior
16 weeks (480 hours)	0+	1	1
24 weeks (720 hours)	1	1+	1+
44 weeks (1320 hours)	1+	2	2+
80-92 weeks (2400-2700 hours)	2+	3	3+

Lee (1996) indicates that the natural type of approach is inappropriate for English speakers with Korean language learning because there is no similarity between both languages, and cultures. For this reason, he suggests that the Natural Approach might be more effective for Japanese speakers learning Korean. Natural Approach, however, became been considered less as a major language approach in the classroom since communicative learning teaching appeared.

Communicative Language Teaching

Oral communication has become the focus of foreign language learning in the twentieth century as a consequence of internationalistic demands (Birkmajor, 1976). Since Communicative Language Teaching has become the main teaching paradigm for foreign language teaching and learning, many textbooks consist of real-life texts, situations and tasks and the grammar is associated with these contents and tasks.

This is reflected in Korean textbooks as well. For example in *Learning Korean* diverse communicative functions such as greeting, asking for information, ordering foods in a cafe etc. are presented, to develop communicative competence (*Learning Korean I, II & III*).

Communicative competence emphasises the difference of 'knowledge about' language forms as distinguished from 'knowing how'. Thus, communicative competence clearly distinguishes between knowing various grammatical rules and being able to use rules for communication functionally and interactively. Canale and Swain (1980) propose a communicative competence framework that consists of four different components. First, grammatical competence is related to the linguistic codes and implies the knowledge of rules of morphology, syntax, sentence grammar, semantics and phonology. Second, discourse competence refers to the ability to structure ideas, to achieve cohesion in form and coherence in thought, in spoken conversation and written texts. Third, socio-linguistic competence refers to the knowledge of the socio-cultural rules of language in various contexts for specific communication functions, such as describing, praising, apologising etc. Fourth, strategic competence covers the use of verbal or nonverbal communication strategies to compensate for the shortage of the knowledge of the linguistic code or performance rules and help to maintaining the communication channel.

Communicative lessons start with grammar and vocabulary, the basis for analysis or competence (Farquhar, 1992). Consequently, the text presents grammar and vocabulary that leads to understanding. The next step is evaluation of meaning for appropriate response or interpretation, thus introducing the socio-cultural context. Text content focuses on real-life situations or useful reading within a discipline.

Harvey (1990) however, reports that although Korean foreign language teaching methods in America attempt to apply a communicative approach, many parts of teaching Korean language are based on the Audio-Lingual method. Korean language textbooks are presented in the form of dialogues, explained in grammatical notes and vocabulary lists, and practiced in drills involving repetition and transformation (Harvey, 1990). He emphasises that these tasks lack provision for communicative use of the language. Furthermore he points out that the student's success in learning Korean with textbooks which are based on the Audio-Lingual method highly depends on the teacher's ability to supplement 'what it has to offer with real language use in class' (Harvey, 1990: 58).

King (1995) reports that there are two tendencies identifiable in recent Korean textbooks that are using the Communicative Approach. One comprises task-oriented dialogues followed by related grammar. In this situation the grammar presentation is often unsystematic and inefficient. The other emphasises structures and grammar. In this case, according to King, the contents of conversation are unnatural or boring. McMeniman (1992: 9) describes this situation as follows: 'whereas the structuralists neglected context and semantics, many functionalists are ignoring form and lexis'.

Since the late 1980s and early 90s, many textbooks support the rapidly growing Korean language teaching in overseas countries, mostly English language speaking countries such as America, England, and Australia. Kim (1995) points

out that although there is an abundance of Korean textbooks, many are ineffective because most texts are copied from old Korean textbooks.

Sohn and Lee (1995) claim that many Korean textbooks have significant errors, are unclear or have insufficient explanation of grammar points, have a paucity of adequate exercises and few useful drills, lack methodological sophistication, and are based on a lack of proficiency goals or principles. Sohn and Lee (1995) also indicate that there are few texts for advanced levels and the few available texts are generally poor in proficiency level, grammatical and cultural annotation, and have a shortage of skill integration exercises.

Farquhar (1992: 21-22) highlights the importance of authentic texts in the Communicative Approach. She reports that linguists working within the Communicative Approach regard authentic texts as important because they not only contextualise language but are genuine manifestations of the linguistic system. Texts and materials in the Korean language classroom should be balanced between listening, speaking, reading, and writing along with grammar, and based on a functional and notional framework (Sohn and Lee, 1995).

Even though the Communicative Approach is at the centre of current Korean language teaching, linguistic competence and grammar rules also play an important part in it. Because Korean language structures are completely different from the English structures, teaching grammar is essential. Lee (1996) points out that Korean belongs to Group IV (FSI Classification, see Table 2.2), which consists of a group of languages that are most difficult for English speakers to learn. Therefore, Korean language learners need a more cognitive orientation with exposure to grammar and the structure of words (Lee, 1996: 56). A model of communicative language teaching is shown in Table 2.3.

Lee (1995) also suggests that grammar patterns and vocabulary must be used in learning a language. He suggests that a holistic approach to learning Korean involves learning and understanding of proper communicative contexts and pragmatics of the language as well as grammatical patterns and vocabulary. To avoid confusion or boredom with linguistic explanations of grammar, context exercises and grammar patterns must be visually contextualised.

Communicative Language Teaching Model (based on Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1997; Breen and Candlin, 1980; Carter and Nunan, 2001; Leesatayakun, 2001; Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

Learner roles	(1) Negotiator - between the self, the learning process, and the object of learning (2) Emerges from and interacts with the role of joint negotiator within the group and with the classroom procedures and activities which the group undertakes.
Teacher roles	(1) Facilitate the communication process between all participants in the classroom, and between these participants and the various

	activities and texts. (2) Act as an independent participant within learning-teaching group.
Assessment	(1)Text-based materials that are based on everyday conversation for specific situations such as asking for information, ordering foods etc (2)Task-based materials (a variety of games, role plays, simulations, and task based communication activities): exercise handbooks, cue cards, activity cards, pair-communication practice materials, and students-interaction practice booklets. (3) Authentic materials such as magazines, newspaper, advertisements, and visual sources in the target language.
Purpose	Communicative competence is the desired goal - enables individuals to develop skills and strategies for using language to communicate meanings.

Lee (1996) reports that although the Korean teachers involved in his study were concerned about the student's communication skills development, they spoke very limited Korean in the classroom. He found that the average instructor used Korean for less than one quarter of the time and the students hardly used any Korean at all in the classroom.

Lee (1996) emphasises that by using the target language in the classroom, teachers are able to deliver indispensable input that required for student's language acquisition and learning. He suggests that the teacher must use Korean extensively and prepare the students to be able to do so as well. Buzo (1995: 3) also argues that there is a lack of a learning-how-to-learn dimension in the Korean language class, 'it is assumed the students know how to receive, process and use language during the learning process'.

Park (1995) emphasises the importance of communicative functions in Korean language teaching approaches and methods. As a solution, he suggests that the teachers need to try various communicative language teaching methods in Korean language teaching such as Total Physical Response, Silent Way, Suggestopedia, and Community Language Learning.

In short, current Korean foreign language teaching in Western countries such as the United States of America and Australia applies the Communicative Language Teaching Approach. However, many Korean researchers point out that Korean foreign language teaching need to be improved by increase teacher input in Korean language in the classroom and emphasise communication skills of students.